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LECTURES AND ESSAYS

ON SUBJECTS CONNECTED WITH

LATIN LITERATURE AND SCHOLARSHIP

BY

HENRY NETTLESHIP, M.A.

CORPUS PROFESSOR OF LATIN LITERATURE IN
THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD



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Dedicated

TO THE MEMORY OF

THE REV. MARK PATTISON,

LATE RECTOR OF LINCOLN COLLEGE.

PREFACE.

THE papers of which this volume is composed represent for the most part, in a concentrated form, lectures or courses of lectures given in Oxford during the past six years. Several of them have been already published either independently or in the *Journal of Philology*, the *American Journal of Philology*, or the *Fortnightly Review*. Some additions, and some alterations in form, have been made since their first publication.

HENRY NETTLESHIP.

OXFORD, 1884.

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NOTE ON
MR. VERRALL'S 'STUDIES IN HORACE.

MR. VERRALL'S *Studies in Horace*¹ have appeared just as the last sheet of this work is going through the press. It would be disrespectful to Mr. Verrall either to pass over his book in silence, or merely to record, without giving my reasons, the fact that I dissent from his general conclusions with respect to the first three books of the Odes.

I will therefore endeavour to state, as briefly as possible, the grounds on which, after a careful study of his work, I still adhere to the views expressed in my first essay on Horace.

Mr. Verrall thinks that the first three books of the Odes were written between 40 and 19 B.C. (pp. 90, 117). I think that, so far as we have any definite evidence, the natural conclusion is that they were written between 33 and 23.

Mr. Verrall supposes that the third Ode of the first book refers to the journey of Vergil to Greece in 19 B.C. The fact in itself is not susceptible either of proof or disproof; but if on other grounds it is probable that the first three books were not published later than 23 B.C., then the Ode in question must have been written earlier. I may be allowed to quote on this point what I said four years ago in the fourth edition of Conington's *Virgil* (vol. I. p. xxiv):—

'The opening of the third Georgic (29 B.C.) would be more easily intelligible could we suppose that the book was written either in Greece or after a visit to that country. There is something to be urged in favour of that hypothesis. In the third Ode of his first book, Horace speaks of a Vergilius, whom he calls *animæ dimidium meæ*, and for whom he prays a safe journey to the coast of Attica May Horace be referring to a journey taken by Vergil about the time when the third Georgic was written?'

¹ *Studies, Literary and Historical, in the Odes of Horace*, by A. W. Verrall, M.A., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Macmillan, 1884.

The theory that the first three books may be dated as late as 19 B.C. lands us, it seems to me, in great difficulties. In the first book of the Epistles Horace speaks of himself as having given up poetry, and as having no inspiration left: *non eadem est aetas, non mens*. Now the latest date assignable to any of the epistles of the first book is this very year 19 (1 Ep. 12. 26). Had Horace been finishing his Odes then, how could he with any sincerity say that he was too old to write poetry? But supposing the Odes to have been published in 23, four years before, in Horace's forty-third year, the whole matter becomes intelligible. A man may well feel older at forty-six than at forty-two.

Again, the fourth book of the Odes was published in 15 or 14 B.C.; Suetonius says, referring to the first three books, *ex longo intervallo*. This expression would be rather exaggerated if the interval was only four or five years, not so if it was eight or nine years.

Mr. Verrall makes a great point of the unsuccessful conspiracy and death of Varro Murena, which, following Dio, he places in 22 B.C., and to which he finds a considerable number of allusions in the first three books of the Odes. I think it more probable that the conspiracy took place in 23 than in 22. Velleius (2. 93) says that it occurred about the same time as the death of Marcellus (23, autumn); and in c. 91 he says that it was immediately connected with the pacification of the East and the restoration of the standards of Crassus. He must mean, not the actual restoration (20 B.C.) but the promised restoration dated 23 B.C. by Dio (53. 32). I know how unsatisfactory Velleius is in matters of chronology; still we must remember that the *Fasti Consulares* mention an Aulus Terentius Varro Murena as consul for a short time in 23 B.C.¹

And here we come across another difficulty. Dio calls the conspirator Licinius Murena; but a better authority, Suetonius (Aug. 19, Tib. 8) calls him Varro Murena, and Tacitus (Ann. 1. 10) speaks of him as a Varro. By Velleius he is called L. Murena (is *L.* a mistake for *A.*?). His sister, we know, was a Terentia. It seems to me therefore most probable that he was a real, not (as Mr. Verrall thinks) an adopted Terentius Varro, and that Murena was a *cognomen* which he chose to adopt, just as other Terentii Var-

¹ Mommsen positively identifies this man with the conspirator, and consequently supplies the imperfect inscription with the words *mortuus est in magistratu*. Mr. Verrall very strangely uses these conjecturally inserted words as an argument that Varro Murena died *before* the conspiracy.

rones had called themselves Lucullus¹ and Gibba. The cognomen Murena was not confined to the Licinii. It is found in the *gens Valeria*; Corpus Inscr. Lat. 2. 3563 *M. Valerius Silanianus Severus Murenæ filius*.

The *Licinius* of Dio I think, then, is a mistake. But does not Horace call Murena Licinius in 2 Od. 10, *Rectius vivēs Licini*? Not at all, I think. The Licinius there mentioned is by the best of the old scholiasts, Porphyrius, called Licinius Valgius (Valgus?); the Cruquian scholia name him Licinius Crassus, and the inscription *Ad Licinium Murenā* is only found in the inferior manuscripts.

I fail, then, to find any direct allusion to Varro Murena's conspiracy in the first three books of the Odes. The Murena of 1 S. 5, 38 (*Murena præbente domum*) and of 3 Od. 19, 10 (*auguris Murenæ*) may have been the conspirator; but of his conspiracy and his fall nothing is said, nor can I see any necessity for reading any indirect allusions to those events into any of the poems of the first three books.

The chronological *terminus a quo* of these Odes depends mainly on the year assigned to the second Ode of the first book. I still think that 33 or 32 B.C. is a more natural date than any other (see p. 154).

¹ Probably the cousin of Lucius Lucullus, as Eutropius says (6. 7). The other authorities call him *frater*; but this is not inconsistent with the *consobrinus* of Eutropius.



MORITZ HAUPT.

(PUBLIC LECTURE, MAY 1879.)

THERE have been scholars whose works are monumental, and will be read so long as the historical sciences continue to be seriously studied. There have been others (and their number is far larger), the influence of whose labour has to a great extent been confined to the sphere of their own generation, whose reputation rests rather on their personal power than on the fame of any one work, and who, though strong as writers, were stronger as instructors. Moritz Haupt was one of these last; and it is because he was so, and because I am personally much indebted to his teaching, that I am anxious that his name should not be forgotten in Oxford.

Wishing to make acquaintance with the German University system, and more especially to learn something of the German method of teaching classical philology, I spent four months from April to August, 1865, at Berlin, matriculating and attending lectures as an ordinary student. On asking advice of a competent informant as to the lectures which then stood highest in general repute for ability and usefulness, I was at once recommended to attend Professor Haupt's course on the Epistles of Horace.

I may say without exaggeration that these lectures introduced me to a method of teaching which was wholly unknown at the time in Oxford, and perhaps in England. We learned in Oxford to read the classics, to translate them on paper, to think and talk about them, to write essays on them; but of the higher philology, of the principles and methods of textual criticism, in other words, of the way to find out what the

classical writers really said, we were taught next to nothing. At least I can only say, speaking for myself, that although I was then beginning to write a commentary on parts of Vergil for Conington's edition, I had to instruct myself, with Conington's assistance, as it were piecemeal, and was without any general knowledge as to the kind of problems which might be expected to meet an editor in dealing with a classical author. Nor was I in reality even aware of the paramount importance attaching to the textual question. My first idea was to say something in the way of comment or explanation on each line of the book before me, and I was thus brought face to face with problems of textual criticism only in detail, and, so to speak, in a reverse order, the general bearings of the problem only dawning by degrees and with great difficulty on eyes untrained to comprehend them.

The first point on which Haupt laid stress was the exposition of his theory as to the principles to be followed in constituting the text of Horace. It was from Haupt, and from no English professor or tutor, that I first learned to appreciate the greatness of Bentley. 'The evil that men do lives after them:' apart from the Letters of Phalaris, Bentley was chiefly known to the ordinary English student of scholarship as having proposed a number of untenable emendations in the text of Horace. It was not generally known (I am speaking of the ordinary run of students) that Bentley's insight and mastery of facts were such as to place him in the first rank of scholars, if not (as was Haupt's own opinion) at the head of them all, and that more may often be learned from the facts collected in a note by Bentley, though his conclusion may be erroneous, than from the cautious dissertations of safer commentators. As Bacon reminds us, truth is oftener born of error than of confusion.

Haupt then made an exposition of his views on the text the beginning and the basis of his lectures on Horace, thus, as I have said, indicating a method which in Oxford at least was unknown. Of the remaining lectures, in which he gave a

running commentary on some of the epistles of the first book, I can only say that although at times they would have been thought too diffuse for the habits and feelings of an English audience, they were full not only of information but of wit, and the good sense which always attends wit, full also of literary allusion and genial play of mind. Besides their occasional diffuseness, they seemed to me to labour under another fault, I mean a recklessness and want of consideration in speaking of other scholars, especially of Orelli, which was inconsistent with fairness, and even with the due observance of literary courtesy. It may be that in England we are over-sensitive in this respect; the freedom of speech which we allow ourselves in politics we think unbecoming in literary controversy. Yet after making all due allowance for difference of manners and for the liberty usual in a German lecture-room, I must own to having experienced a feeling of weariness and repulsion at witnessing this castigation of the defenceless Orelli carried on for four days in the week during a period of three months.

As Haupt died early in 1874, I ought to explain why I have waited so long before speaking of his labours in the field of scholarship and of University education. The complete collection of his *Opuscula*, edited by the distinguished and original scholar Mr Wilamowitz-Möllendorf, was not published till 1876. I had intended to make these *Opuscula* the subject of a public lecture in the October term of last year; but hearing that a work on Haupt as a University Professor, by Mr Christian Belger, was expected to appear this year, I waited for its publication, and was right, I think, in so doing; for the work contains a great deal of valuable and interesting information which would have been otherwise inaccessible. For all that I am about to say on Haupt's life I am indebted to the short biography prefixed to Mr. Belger's volume.

Moritz Haupt was born at Zittau in Saxony in the year 1808. His father, Ernst Friedrich Haupt, whose life extended from 1774 to 1843, had in his youth studied law at Leipzig. He was something of a poet, and in character a man of simple tastes

and serious tone, of pure and lofty ideas, and withal a fiery temper. Something of all this he bequeathed to his son Moritz, and in particular the taste for poetry in preference to prose, which was very marked from the beginning to the end of Haupt's career. Moritz Haupt began his literary life with a strong admiration for the old German poetry. What first inspired him to study classical philology was reading Gottfried Hermann's edition of the *Bacchae*. This first taught him, as he himself says, what was meant by really understanding an ancient author. In 1826, at the age of eighteen, he left school for the University of Leipzig. Here he became a member of the *Societas Graeca*, or association of students set on foot by Hermann, and working under his direction at the study of Greek. In a letter to Hermann, written five years after his entrance at Leipzig, Haupt addresses his revered teacher in the warmest language of youthful enthusiasm, mentioning at the same time that he is beginning to work upon Catullus, and proposing to send his notes for Hermann's approval.

From 1830-37 Haupt was mostly at Zittau, tending the declining years of his father. His circumstances, full of anxiety as they must have been, were not favourable to the formation of any definite hopes or resolutions for the future; yet those seven years were fruitful in literary effort. Besides writing a number of reviews, he made considerable studies in Old German and Old French literature. A collection of old French songs, mostly of the sixteenth century, made by him at this time, was first published after his death by Hirzel. Besides Old German and Old French, he was also at this time working at Bohemian and the Slavic languages, and preparing editions of the Latin poets Gratius and Catullus.

In 1834 Haupt travelled in company with his father to Vienna, where he made the acquaintance of Hoffmann von Fallersleben. Far more important for his future was a journey made in the same year to Berlin. Here, at the house of Meusebach, he met Lachmann, whose influence, strengthened by a friendship of seventeen years, was strong upon him till the end of his

life. Much of the severity with which Haupt was accustomed to treat real or supposed incompetence in other scholars, may with probability be traced to a feeling implanted or encouraged by Lachmann. Lachmann was a great scholar; but he was withal one of those literary Puritans with whom generosity, the rarest and finest of all virtues, counts for less than rectitude and strenuous effort; negligence, or indolence, or bad work in general, he regarded as offences to be scourged without mercy. This attitude, which can only be maintained without falling by scholars of the first order of character and genius, was to a certain extent assumed by Haupt throughout the whole of his literary career.

In 1837 Haupt published the *Quaestiones Catullianae* as his *habilitationschrift*, or essay qualifying him for the position of *privat-docent*, the first step in academical promotion. Of this excellent work I shall have more to say when I attempt to estimate the general value of Haupt's contributions to Latin scholarship. As *privat-docent* he lectured first on Catullus and the Nibelungen; and it was mainly on Old German and Latin that he continued to lecture till 1858, the year in which Müllenhoff came to Berlin, when he exchanged Old German for Greek.

In 1838 he published his edition of the *Haliuticon* and of the *Cynegetica* of Gratius and Nemesianus. It seems also that he was at this time to a great extent instrumental in starting the idea of the great German dictionary afterwards begun by the Grimms. In the same year he formed a *Societas Latina*, on the model of Hermann's *Societas Graeca*. A little volume of essays from the hands of its members, dedicated to Hermann, testified, in the following year, to the activity of the new association. A letter of Hermann's, written in this year, gives evidence of the high esteem in which he, as well as others, held the rising young scholar. 'Professor Haupt is daily more and more appreciated, as he deserves to be, and the University to which he belongs may consider itself fortunate. His merits are recognized by his classes, and he thus gains in self-confidence, of which his modesty at first allowed him very scant measure.' This

was true; Haupt seems at this time to have been liable to moods of diffidence and melancholy. He complains to Lachmann of the 'terrible gaps' in his acquirements, and of the uncertainty of his knowledge. Lachmann replies that the recognition of one's own ignorance is a necessary condition of the scholar's life; 'Why complain of a deficiency which you yourself acknowledge?'

The two past years had been full of interest for all who had the independence of literature at heart. In 1837 the seven Göttingen professors, among them the brothers Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm, had been deprived of their office in consequence of the protest they had lodged against the unconstitutional proceedings of the King of Hanover. The Grimms, and those who acted with them, would hear of no compromise with their own conscience, or with tyranny. Other scholars, it appears, were hardly in favour of supporting them to the whole length of their proceedings,—they are always moderate persons on such occasions who stand aloof from extreme action,—and Lachmann himself seems to have thought that Jacob Grimm carried his indignation too far. In 1838 (January) he writes: 'Jacob Grimm is at Cassel, in a restless and discontented mood, far too much so; Wilhelm is quiet and cheerful, because he does not allow politics to interfere with what is, after all, only a question of conscience.' An unfortunate misunderstanding, which was fostered by injudicious friends of Jacob Grimm, arose between him and Lachmann upon this matter, and lasted on into 1840, when it was finally removed. 'There are two sorts of persons,' said Lachmann, 'those who are made for places, and those for whom places ought to be made; it is to the latter class that the two Grimms belong.' And it was in great measure owing to Lachmann's exertions that the Grimms were called to Berlin in 1841.

In 1839 Haupt published an edition of Hartmann's *Erec*, his first important contribution to Old German scholarship. Two volumes of *Altdeutsche Blätter*, consisting of reviews, testify further to his activity in this line between 1836 and 1840. His

edition of Rudolf's *Gute Gerhard* appeared in 1840. In 1841 he was elected *professor extraordinarius*, a post for which he had been 'designated' three years before. This year was also marked by the publication of the *Observationes Criticae*, a very important essay, in which he continued, with fuller discussion and illustration, the lines of investigation started in the *Quaestiones Catullianae*. He also set on foot in this year the *Zeitschrift für Deutsches Alterthum*, of which he long continued the editor.

The ties which already united Haupt to Gottfried Hermann were drawn closer in 1842, when Haupt married Hermann's daughter Louise. In the same year he edited the *Lieder* of Hartmann von Aue.

Between 1842 and 1848 there is not much to chronicle, except his election as *professor ordinarius* in 1843, at the age of thirty-five. In 1844 he edited Conrad's poem *Engelhard*; in 1845 the *Winsbeke*; in 1847 came his additions to Lachmann's 'Considerations on the Iliad.' The year 1848 was an eventful one for him, on public as well as on private grounds. Like other patriotic persons among his countrymen, he was powerfully inspired with the idea of German unity; and though his political ideas were far from democratic, he was enough of a liberal to become an active member of the *Deutscher Verein*, and in this capacity so eloquent as to draw down upon his head the displeasure of Government. For his speeches in the *Verein*, Haupt, with Otto Jahn, and Theodor Mommsen, was suspended from his office, and (in spite of a formal acquittal) finally dismissed in 1851.

Notwithstanding these troubles, this was a happy time for the distinguished literary society now gathered in Leipzig. Haupt, Mommsen, and Jahn, with the publishers Reimer, Hirzel, and Wigand, formed a congenial circle of friends, in which the scholars and the men of business continually met each other with mutual pleasure and profit. Jahn speaks feelingly of the great benefit derived by scholars from intercourse with educated men of the world. 'A mere scholar,' he truly says, 'is not

necessarily an educated man; he has much to learn from the men of practical life, and the new points of view which their knowledge of the world opens up to him.' The society is pleasantly described by the well-known novelist, Gustav Freytag, who came to Leipzig in this year.

'In the year 1848,' he tells us, 'I came to live at Leipzig, as editor and part-proprietor of the *Grenzboten*; and in the following year I was admitted into the select circle of friends to which Haupt belonged. As I was a pupil of Lachmann, and had a taste for German philology, we had many common interests, and our agreement in politics helped to ensure an understanding between us. Haupt lived a very retired life, especially since he had been under the supervision of the police; but he was naturally glad at such a time of the visits of a sympathetic friend; and many a pleasant twilight hour we managed to while away, chattering on his old sofa, in the company of his amiable and accomplished wife. We were fond of taking our serious, reserved friend to a quiet restaurant, where, from this time until he left Leipzig, Haupt joined Otto Jahn, Theodor Mommsen, Julian Schmidt, Solomon Hirzel, and myself, in many a merry meeting. When Lachmann came to Leipzig on his last visit, we managed to catch him as well, and brought him in with a triumphant welcome. The result of these meetings between Haupt and myself was a mutual confidence, which ripened into a steady friendship. He was so kind as to form a good opinion of the easy-going Silesian; while I, on my part, conceived a heart-felt respect for the rugged scholar, with his scrupulous conscience, his wealth of knowledge, and his force of expression. Till the end of his life I always set great store by Haupt's criticism of my poems; sometimes I preferred it to that of any one else. As we were sitting over our wine one evening, some years before the appearance of 'Debit and Credit,' Haupt suddenly challenged me to write a novel. The suggestion fell in with my own ideas, and I accepted it. To the 'Lost Manuscript,' however, he contributed more than a suggestion. There is something of Haupt in the character of Felix Werner; no

more, however, than a novelist is allowed to borrow from a real character, without interfering with the freedom of his own creation, or overstepping the bounds of discretion and delicacy.'

The year 1848 ended in sorrow. On December 31 Haupt lost his father-in-law, Gottfried Hermann, whose death, it need hardly be said, was felt as a calamity far beyond the immediate circle of his family and connections. 'We can ill afford,' wrote Lachmann, 'to lose the pillars of our time-honoured study and discipline, at a time when both seem to be vanishing before our eyes, and the deluge of pitiable nonsense is rising around us.' Strange that in only three years from this time another pillar was to fall; Lachmann himself died in 1851.

Hermann's *Bion and Moschus* was edited by Haupt in 1849, his *Aeschylus* not till 1852. From 1848 begins a series of contributions, now published in the first volume of *Opuscula*, to the Transactions of the Saxon Academy of Sciences, of which he was elected a member in that year. In 1849 he published, besides his edition of Hermann's *Bion and Moschus*, his essay on the *Epicedion Drusi*, so far as I am able to judge, one of the best of his papers. In 1850, a new and now well-known literary journal, the *Litterarisches Centralblatt*, was started, to which he contributed numerous reviews.

Like 1848, the year 1851 was an eventful one for Haupt. He was dismissed from his professorship at Leipzig in consequence of his share in the agitations of 1848, and, far worse, it was in this year that Lachmann died. The intimacy of the two scholars had lasted without interruption and with unabated warmth for seventeen years, and Haupt was to the last at the bedside of his beloved friend.

The influence of Lachmann on the general course of philological study has probably been greater than that of any single man during the present century. Many scholars who never saw him, and to whom he is only known by his books, have been inspired by the extraordinary impulse which he gave to critical method; Greek, Latin, and German philology have alike felt the touch of the magician. That Haupt, whose mind

was for seventeen years in continual contact with this powerful genius, should have been somewhat dominated by its influence, is not to be wondered at. There can be no doubt that he never shook off a certain prejudice in favour of Lachmann's views, and against the work of scholars who differed from him.

In spite of the congeniality of temperament which drew the two friends together, there were, however, considerable differences between them. Haupt had a great power of dialectic, of sympathetic exposition, of analysing points of criticism in a way intelligible to a large audience. When I was at Berlin there were from eighty to a hundred regular attendants at his lectures. But Lachmann cared to be understood only by the few immediately capable of understanding him. He goes straight to the heart of his subject, and implies that his readers are on the same level of information as himself; the multitude and its requirements do not come within the sphere of his vision. He complained himself of this want of geniality and sympathetic power. Two months before his death he wrote to Haupt, 'In less than ten years' (he was then fifty-eight) 'I shall probably feel superannuated; it is provokingly seldom that I can really inspire a young student either by the subject on which I lecture, or by personal influence. You have the art of speaking well. . . . I cannot imitate the play of your dialectic for a single line; for acquiring your persevering and fruitful learning I have neither the talent nor the power of memory.' Whether Lachmann was right in this modest estimate of his own powers of teaching I have no means of knowing; that he was right in his appreciation of Haupt I can gratefully testify. Belger remarks, that in the philosophical spirit, or what his friend calls the dialectical faculty, Haupt resembled Hermann more than Lachmann did.

In 1851 Haupt published his editions of Horace and of Gottfried of Neifen; in 1853, part of a school edition of the *Metamorphoses*, for the series of classics with German notes, now so deservedly well known, which was started about this time under the direction of himself and Sauppe.

In 1853, at the age of forty-five, Haupt was summoned to

Berlin to succeed Lachmann. As from this time onwards, or at least from 1854, his literary work mainly assumed the form of short academical programmes, and miscellaneous papers read before the Academy of Sciences or published in philological journals, it will not be amiss to pause here, and to say a few words on some of his more important contributions to Latin scholarship.

The first of these was the *Quaestiones Catullianae*, published in 1837. Considering that Haupt was at this time only in his thirtieth year, this essay must surely be pronounced one of very remarkable merit. The *Quaestiones Catullianae* may still be read with much profit. In form, indeed, the work suffers from a defect common in the writings even of the best scholars; I mean their way of leaving the subject in hand, and only returning to it after a long digression on some other point only remotely connected with it. Fourteen pages of this essay on Catullus are taken up with notes on the *Moretum* and the *Aetna*, which should have been thrown into a separate dissertation. With this exception, there is, however, little but praise to be bestowed on the *Quaestiones Catullianae*. In several points, indeed, Haupt followed Lachmann on wrong tracks, which subsequent critics, with lights to guide them of which Lachmann knew nothing, have abandoned. But a scholar or man of letters must be judged, not by his mistakes, whether avoidable or unavoidable, but by his positive contributions to knowledge. Now, such is the state of the text of Catullus, that any scholar may be said to deserve great praise if he can produce even two or three, I will not say certain, but really probable emendations in it. Some of his early corrections Haupt himself abandoned in later years; some, however, have found approval, if not among all, at least among some of the highest authorities who have since spoken on Catullus. In 23. 10 *furta impia* for *facta impia* is accepted by both Baehrens and Munro; in 61. 46 *anxiis* for *amatis* by Ellis; in 62. 9 *sic certest* by Baehrens and Ellis; in 63. 5 *devolsit* for *devolvit* by Baehrens and Munro; and in 64. 28 *Nereine* for *nectine* by the same scholars.

The *Observationes Criticae*, which followed the *Quaestiones Catullianae* in four years (1841), were drawn forth by Haupt's desire to defend or illustrate some of his previous remarks. To the first chapter of this work we are indebted for his very valuable note on the ninety-fifth poem, where he explains the mention of the river Satrachus as referring to the story of Zmyrna. In the third chapter, in defending three of his emendations, *te ibi, quare etiam, ardui ibi*, he writes an excellent dissertation on the hiatus of long vowels as allowed by Lucilius, Lucretius, Vergil, Horace, and Ovid. The correction proposed in the next chapter, in 11. 11, 'horribile *aequor* ultimosque Britannos' for *horribilesque* of the MSS., is accepted by Baehrens, but not either by Ellis or Munro, who have each their own way of healing the passage. Munro, however, by reading *horribilem salum*, shows that he agrees with Haupt that Catullus was speaking of the horrors of the British Channel, not of the English shore. The fifth chapter is mostly an elaborate disquisition on the proper position of the copulative conjunctions *et* and *ac* in Catullus, followed in the sixth by an examination of the usage of other poets in this matter. The conclusion of this part of the essay is that the transposition of *et* and *atque*, so as to stand after the words to which they belong, is unknown to Catullus and Lucretius; that the similar transposition of *et* is common in Vergil and in the *Dirae*, that of *atque* and *et* in Horace; that of *et* again, and occasionally of *atque* in Propertius, Tibullus, and Ovid. Finally, in the eighth chapter, he propounds the theory that this usage was borrowed by the Latin poets from the Greek epigrammatists, and perhaps ultimately from the Alexandrian school.

I have mentioned these details, which might seem out of place in an hour's lecture, only to give as striking an instance as I could of Haupt's real powers. A scholar who could, before his thirty-fourth year was past, produce such excellent critical work as is contained in the *Quaestiones Catullianae* and the *Observationes Criticae*, was *ipso facto* marked out for high distinction in the commonwealth of letters. These dissertations, like all other

good productions of their class, must be read through to be properly appreciated; they cannot, I mean, be estimated at their true value merely by the traces which they have left in the notes of subsequent commentators on Catullus. I have spoken of Haupt's more probable emendations; there is something to learn even from his errors, and much to learn from the discussions by which his conclusions, whether now rejected as erroneous or not, are arrived at.

I must now mention the essay on the *Epicedion Drusi*, or *Consolatio ad Liviam Augustam de morte filii*, published at Leipzig in 1849. This poem, which strangely enough was admired by Nicolas Heinsius and Valckenar, and which Joseph Scaliger attributed to Pedo Albinovanus, Haupt contends is a forgery of the fifteenth century. I do not know whether there is any one of his essays which gives a clearer idea of his critical power. The MSS. of the poem in question are none of them earlier than the fifteenth century; as for internal evidence, Haupt shews, I think very happily, that the piece is badly arranged, that the ideas are often poor, sometimes self-contradictory, sometimes repeated in a pointless way; that many of the verses are taken directly from Propertius, Ovid, and Vergil, and that the Latin is often merely conventional and unreal. I confess that I am not convinced by the elaborate essay which my friend Professor Hübner has published in the *Hermes*¹, that this poem may fairly be assigned to the age of Nero. Hübner points out a great number of imitations of the classical poets, in addition to those collected by Haupt and other scholars; but he does not, I think, succeed in shewing that the Latin of the poem can be called classical. For instance, when Haupt objects to the phrase *turba bonorum* in the sense of 'a multitude of advantages,' it is not sufficient to reply that *turba* is used by good writers in the sense of 'multitude,' and *bona* in the sense of 'advantages'; the question is whether any good writer, any writer with the poetical pretension of the author of this poem, would have said *turba bonorum* in any other sense

¹ 1878.

than that of a 'throng of respectable men.' And so the case often stands with this composition. Is it, for instance, credible that any poet of the age of Calpurnius, Persius, and Lucan, to say nothing of Ovid or Vergil, would have constantly used *tumulus* in the sense of *sepulcrum*; and, worse still, *ianua tumuli* for 'the door of the tomb,' and *tumulo portaris et igni*, for 'thou art carried to the grave and the fire'; or *fortuna nocendi* for 'the power of hurting'; or that he would have written so weak a line as (*lacrimae*) *effusae gravidis uberibusque genis*, or so bad a one as *os oculosque illius ore premam*? These and other like spurious conventionalities might be added to the list made out by Haupt.

Still more important, because dealing with more numerous and more difficult questions of criticism, is the essay on Calpurnius and Nemesianus, published in 1854, the year after he was called to Berlin. The excellent quality of this paper can only be fairly appreciated by those who are able to study it in detail; I may, however, mention its chief points. The first, argued and illustrated with great learning and acuteness, is that the eleven eclogues which passed currently under the name of Calpurnius are really to be divided between Calpurnius and Nemesianus, the last four being from the hand of Nemesianus, the first seven from that of Calpurnius; the second is that Calpurnius wrote, not at the same time as Nemesianus, i.e. in the age of Carinus and Numerian, but at the beginning of the age of Nero. The editor of the *Opuscula* says that Haupt had intended to publish an edition of these eclogues, which he began, but left unfinished. He promises that this edition shall be published with the *Cynegetica* of Grattius and Nemesianus, in the state in which the author left it.

Of the two programmes published by Haupt in 1854 and 1859 on the *Aetna* it is less necessary to speak in this place, as the questions connected with that poem have been more or less familiar to Englishmen since Mr Munro published his excellent edition, based on a new collation of the Cambridge MS., in 1867. I suppose that this edition can hardly be as generally known in

Germany as it deserves¹; otherwise it is difficult to account for the fact that Mr Belger supposes *Cantabrigia* to mean Canterbury, and nowhere says a word of Mr Munro's book. On the other hand, Mr Munro does not mention the emendations published by Haupt in the middle of his *Quaestiones Catullianae*, some of which I infer from his editor's silence that he never retracted.

In 1853 Haupt published a small text of Catullus, Tibullus and Propertius, uniform with his Horace of 1851; in 1855 he edited the *Germania* of Tacitus, and in 1858 Vergil, in the same form. But the main part of his literary work between 1853 and 1874 consisted in academical programmes and addresses, papers published in the Transactions of the Berlin Academy of Sciences, and contributions to the *Hermes*, the well-known philological journal started in 1866. To read continuously through these papers, ranging as they do over an immense variety of subjects and authors, is nearly impossible under the conditions of modern life; they must be consulted with the aid of their editor's *indices*. Haupt's academical programmes, published in the second volume of his *Opuscula*, include notes on the Greek authors Apollonius of Tyre, Callimachus, Epicharmus, Ion of Chios, Euripides, Sophocles, Theocritus, Aristophanes; and on the Latin authors Propertius, Catullus, Gellius, Plautus, the writer of the *Aetna*, Ovid, Statius, Lucius Seneca, Fronto, Cicero, Ammianus. Among these papers I will mention two which have been of great importance in their bearing on Latin scholarship. One (Opp. ii. p. 67) is on Catullus, and contains, besides notes on that poet, an exposure of the frauds of Bosius in the matter of Cicero's letters. The other (p. 371 of the same volume) contains a number of admirable emendations in the very corrupt text of Ammianus. Most of these have been adopted by Gardthausen in his text of 1874; a second paper containing a number of fresh corrections was intended for the summer semester of 1874 and was published after the writer's death. The essay on the criticism of Horace, published in the Transactions of the Academy for 1858, is well

¹ This remark would at the present time (1884) be unjust.

worth reading. Haupt agrees with Bentley as to the importance of the oldest Blandinian MS.; the errors in our MSS. of Horace shew, he thinks, that the archetype from which they are derived was written in cursive, not in uncial, letters.

In the address which he delivered on his election as a member of the Academy of Sciences in July 1854, Haupt, in speaking of his own studies and previous performances, characterized them as follows: 'Among my productions I have nothing to shew which is likely to be looked back on as a landmark in the advance of knowledge, or as having widened its range, or opened mines of discovery hitherto unknown, or penetrated far into the causes of things. I know, and I candidly admit, that the recognition accorded to me by the Academy is not in any way deserved by my writings; but I accept it as expressing your approval of the line which my efforts have taken, and the general direction in which I have guided them.'

His estimate of his own performances may be accepted as in the main perfectly just. He had applied, in several cases with great success, the critical method which he had learned from Hermann and Lachmann, and his works may be taken from first to last as representing that method. The twenty ensuing years of his life as professor at Berlin he devoted mainly to exemplifying it and inculcating its lessons, not so much by writing as by teaching. For any one casting his eye over the list of Haupt's works will, I think, be struck with the fact that after he went to Berlin his literary efforts seem to have been dissipated in the treatment of small and unconnected subjects. He never concentrated himself on any great work, but effected much by the intangible impression of power and insight which he produced in the literary world. In a letter to Mommsen dated March 22, 1855, he says, 'I beg for your kindly acceptance of the programme which I send herewith. I know well how you dislike my devotion to these programmes; however, I cannot help it. I give my best powers to these things, though I know that I waste a great deal of paper over them. The truth is, that I am absolutely without the ambition of making a repu-

tation as a writer, and I feel that I shall identify myself more and more with my professorship.' He seems, indeed, to have projected several important works, but to have been hindered in advancing far with them, partly by a certain fastidiousness of nature, which made him slow at continuous composition, partly I suspect by a nervous disorder which attacked him in the later years of his life, the combined result, according to his biographer, of overwork at Leipzig, of the strain and anxiety of his last years at Zittau, and the excitement of the time that elapsed between 1848 and 1853. About ten years before his death he began to suffer from giddiness and want of sleep; in 1865 I remember that his ill-health was talked of by the students.

The regular plan which Haupt followed in his lectures was to treat of two or more subjects, generally quite unconnected with each other, in each term. In 1853 his list is Catullus, the *Germania*, and Walther von der Vogelweide; in the summer term of 1854, Propertius and German grammar; in winter, Tibullus, and the Nibelungen; in 1855, in summer, the Satires of Horace, and the Parzival; in winter, the *Germania* and Walther von der Vogelweide: in 1856, Propertius, and German Grammar, Tibullus, the History of Roman Literature, and Hartmann; in 1857, the Iliad and the Nibelungen, the Satires of Horace, and the Parzival, and so on; only that after Müllenhoff came to Berlin the lectures on Old German were discontinued, and lectures on Greek took their place. It is clear from the lists of Haupt's lectures, even if there were no other evidence of the fact, that the bent of his mind was towards poetry; prose authors received comparatively little illustration at his hands. It is one of the great merits of Mr Belger's biography, that he prints a number of notes taken at these lectures. Of his remarks on Old German poetry I am, unfortunately, unable to judge; but I have read through much of what he says about Homer, and am struck with its good sense and clearness, and by the writer's evident love of early poetry. As is natural, he illustrates much from Old German and Old French: with Indian literature he does not seem to have had much acquaintance, nor did he

care for or encourage the study of Sanskrit, and with the theories which would read solar myths into the Iliad and Odyssey he had no sympathy at all. In his main principles, no doubt, he followed Lachmann, yet always with a certain freshness and originality of his own. The Iliad and Odyssey, in his opinion, arose gradually out of isolated poems. His general views about them are summed up by Mr Belger, as follows: 'If I understand Lachmann and Haupt aright, there was an epoch in the life of the Greek nation when stories of real events, clad in a fabulous shape, began to attach themselves to the fading myths: the form in which the tradition is preserved is that of epic poetry, through which, and in union with it, the story was developed. But, under the impression of great events, certain cycles of story received a more developed form than others, and in these again prominence was given to the more poetical episodes; these smaller units form into wholes within the larger circle, and the lays which belong to these smaller circles become the most popular, and so the whole subject gets distributed among different ballads, the representative of this poetry being the inspired singer. This period is followed by another, in which the story, and with it the individual epic lays, receive a definite outline, with a regular beginning and end. It is impossible now to trace the stages of growth which led from the first improvisation to the form finally assumed; yet we may distinguish in the river the colours of the waters that united to form it. For instance, scholars infer from the remnants of Aeolic forms in the Homeric poems, that the Aeolians once had an epic poetry of their own, which is now extinct.' I quote these words merely for the interest which naturally attaches to them, and not as venturing to pass a judgment on a point with which I am not competent to deal. Let me now, before concluding, say a few words on some points which characterised Haupt as a teacher, as a writer, and as a man.

I am very glad to find that the impression of Haupt's teaching left upon my mind after reading Mr Belger's book is much the same, though, of course, confirmed and supported by

a mass of detail previously unknown to me, as that which I carried away fourteen years ago after hearing the lectures on Horace. As Mr Belger very rightly observes, Haupt was not the founder of a school in the sense in which that expression might be used of some scholars. He had not the creative gift, the subtle inspiring power, of Ritschl. His aim was rather to inculcate and emphasize, by repeated example and exhortation, the universal principles of critical method, as they have been understood by the greatest scholars. That he attached himself specially to Lachmann may, from this point of view, be regarded as an accident of his own circumstances, and those of classical philology in Lachmann's time. The principles of criticism, which no scholar can desert except at his peril, are, and always have been, the same in all ages and all countries: there is no such thing, except by the accidents of special periods of history, as Italian or French or German or English scholarship; but particular developments of the general principles may be seized upon and brought into prominence at different times by the circumstances of particular books treated by particular scholars. Haupt's great aim was not so much to teach facts as to teach method, *methode zu lehren*; in other words, to teach how to learn, and how (if so be) to advance the science of philology. On reading Mr Belger's pages I recall many of his expressions, all tending in this direction.

Textual criticism is one great branch of classical philology; the other is interpretation. On interpretation Haupt had three main principles, derived mainly from Hermann's precept and practice in his superintendence of the *Societas Graeca* at Leipzig, which he set out in the form of paradoxes. The first was, 'Do not translate: translation is the death of understanding.' The second was, 'Use no technical terms of grammar.' The third was, 'Understand your author not logically but psychologically.' None of these rules, of course, were to be taken literally. With regard to translation, Haupt meant apparently that although it was a good exercise for enabling a schoolboy to master the construction of sentences, it was no help to the riper student

towards the real understanding of an ancient author. This must be won by patient study and analysis of the language. 'The first stage is to learn to translate; the second, to see that translation is impossible.' I am not sure that I fully realize from his biographer's words the full extent of Haupt's meaning on this point; but I suppose that he intended to protest against the idea that a ready translation, without previous analysis of the meaning of the words, is always a sign that a passage is understood. At the later stages of a student's progress, translation is more useful for making a writer than for training a scholar.

The second rule was a protest against the use of technical terms, such as *zeugma*, *ellipse*, *pleonasm*, and the like, without a sufficient analysis of the individual case to which they are applied; and thus understood its truth is obvious.

The third requires a somewhat fuller explanation. 'Understand your author not logically but psychologically,' was another way of saying, 'explain your author historically,' 'remember his times and circumstances.' In other words, remember that a Greek writer did not think even the same thought precisely as a Roman writer would have done, still less as a modern Englishman or German would do; every nation has its *nuances* of thought as well as of language; the language is the form or body in which these *nuances* live and have their being. One cannot dwell long on these points without lapsing into commonplace; but it would not be untrue to say that the need of the historical spirit in interpretation has only recently begun to obtain general recognition. I do not know that I ever heard any one apply it better than Conington in his lectures on Latin verse.

These were the maxims on which Haupt based his classical teaching, whether in his formal lectures, or in the more informal but no less important, lessons of the philological seminary, in which the student had not only to listen, but himself to translate and discuss. They look trite and meagre on paper, but when enforced with Haupt's power of wit and logic and striking illustration they would, no doubt, sink with great impressiveness into the mind of the student. For he had a great power of oral

exposition, and knew, as few men do, how to keep his hearers interested and attentive.

As a writer he seems to me to have been more successful in Latin than in German. His Latin style is wonderfully good; pure, natural, idiomatic, and at the same time always genial, elegant, and distinguished, I doubt whether it is surpassed by that of any recent or living European scholar. In handling German, though as an Englishman I must speak with great diffidence, it seems to me that he is less at his ease. The beautiful addresses on Jacob Grimm, Meineke, and Bekker, printed in the third volume of the *Opuscula*, do, it is true, carry the reader along with them; but that is due, I think, more to the nobility and simplicity of the ideas than to the ease of the language. The general reader will, however, see Haupt at his best in these papers. To those who did not know him his character appeared more likely to inspire fear than affection; and no doubt he was hot-tempered, vehement, hasty, not without unreasonable prejudices and dislikes. Yet his faults were those of a strong, manly, and truthful nature. The addresses which I have mentioned shew the scholar and the man on his most attractive side; they testify to the warmth and depth of his private affections, to his love of truth, and his almost religious devotion to the scholarship which was the work of his life, and in the cultivation of which he would have scorned to admit the smallest motive of mere pleasure or worldly profit. 'The scholar,' he said, 'whose whole heart is not in his work, ranks lower than the commonest mechanic.' Nor were Haupt's efforts confined to himself. Mr Belger states, and I have heard myself from a good authority, that he was liberal of pecuniary and other assistance to students who required it. It is on the foundations laid by characters like this that the edifice of classical philology has risen.

The educational method which his teaching represents is, I need hardly say, familiar enough in Germany, but imperfectly known in the older English universities. The theory of professorial instruction, as he and many other distinguished men

in Germany have worked it out, supposes that the professor lectures on important subjects, and gives to his classes the best of his work. The strength of the system lies in the power which it exercises over those finer spirits among the students whose aptitudes and inclinations draw them to the pursuit of knowledge and the cultivation of the philosophic spirit. Its weakness is that it fails to touch the ordinary undergraduate. The rich endowments of Oxford enable us to make ample provision for the satisfaction of both requirements. But can it be said that our average social and intellectual tone is seriously favourable to anything but the vigorous performance of tutorial duties, the preparation of candidates for examination, or, at the best, the cultivation of that talent which, as Emerson says, 'finds its models, methods, and ends, in society, exists for exhibition, and goes to the soul only for power to work'? Perhaps it never will be so. But it must be remembered that a university which, for whatever reason, neglects the ideal aspects of education, is dead to the noblest traditions of academic life, and to the fulfilment of its highest duties.

II.

EARLY ITALIAN CIVILIZATION:

CONSIDERED WITH ESPECIAL REFERENCE

TO THE EVIDENCE AFFORDED ON THE SUBJECT BY THE
LATIN LANGUAGE.

¹ 'The contrast between the Greek and Italian character was due to causes which must have lain dormant in the Graeco-Italian period. This moral and intellectual difference, the effects of which are not exhausted even at the present day, developed itself after the separation of the two races. Either nation, in complete independence of the other, formed its own system of the family and the state, of religion and of art; so much so that the common foundation on which, here as elsewhere, both systems

¹ Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte*, vol. i. p. 23 (seventh edition). 'In der graecoitalischen Periode müssen die Anregungen noch gefehlt haben, welche diesen innerlichen Gegensatz hervortreten machten; erst zwischen den Hellenen und den Italikern hat jene tiefe geistige Verschiedenheit sich offenbart, deren Nachwirkung noch bis auf den heutigen Tag sich fortsetzt. Familie und Staat, Religion und Kunst sind in Italien wie in Griechenland so eigenthümlich, so durchaus national entwickelt worden, dass die gemeinschaftliche Grundlage, auf der auch hier beide Völker fussten, dort und hier überwuchert und unsern Augen fast ganz entzogen ist. Jenes hellenische Wesen, das dem Einzelnen das Ganze, der Gemeinde die Nation, dem Bürger die Gemeinde aufopferte, dessen Lebensideal das schöne und gute Sein und nur zu oft der süsse Müsiggang war, dessen politische Entwicklung in der Vertiefung des ursprünglichen Particularismus der einzelnen Gaue und später sogar in der innerlichen Auflösung der Gemeindegewalt bestand, dessen religiöse Anschauung erst die Götter zu Menschen machte und dann die Götter leugnete, das die Glieder entfesselte in dem Spiel der nackten Knaben und dem Gedanken in aller seiner Herrlichkeit und in aller seiner Fruchtbarkeit freie Bahn gab; und jenes römische Wesen, das den Sohn in die Furcht des Vaters, die Bürger in die Furcht des Herrschers, sie alle in die Furcht der Götter bannte, das nichts forderte und nichts ehrte als die nützliche That, und jeden Bürger zwang jeden Augenblick des kurzen Lebens mit rastloser Arbeit auszufüllen, das die keusche Verhüllung des Körpers schon dem Buben zur Pflicht machte, in dem wer anders sein wollte als die Genossen ein schlechter Bürger hiess, in dem der Staat alles war und die Erweiterung des Staates die einzige nicht verpönte hohe Gedanke—wer vermag diese scharfen Gegensätze in Gedanken zurückführen auf die ursprüngliche Einheit, die sie beide umschloss und beide vorbereitete und erzeugte?'

rested, has been, in some cases, overgrown and almost lost to sight. Greek civilization sacrificed the general to the particular interest, the nation to the city-community, the city-community to the citizen. Its ideal of life was an existence of beauty and goodness, too often indeed an existence of mere leisure and self-indulgence. In politics it intensified the original exclusiveness of the single districts, and proceeded in later times to break up the authority of the city-community. The Greek religion began by making its gods into men, and ended by denying their existence. In the boyish exercises of the gymnasium the Greeks gave free play to the naked limbs. On the free utterance of thought, in all its splendour and fruitfulness, they imposed no restraint. But in Rome the son was brought up in the fear of his father, the citizen in the fear of his ruler, and all in the fear of the gods. The only thing which was exacted, the only thing which was honoured, was a serviceable act. The citizen was expected to occupy every moment of his short life in restless industry. Personal modesty was scrupulously enjoined from boyhood upwards. To wish to be different from others was to be a bad citizen; the empire was everything, and the only lofty idea which it was not penal to entertain was that of the extension of the empire.'

In these terms Mommsen has summed up the different characteristics of the two ancient European civilizations. The contrast is indeed great, and may perhaps be accounted for by the fact that the Italians were probably long separated from the Hellenes. While the Hellenes migrated into Southern Europe from the East and over the Aegean Sea, many considerations point to the conclusion that the Italians came into the valley of the Padus from the north, and by land, and thus developed independently the main features of their distinctive civilization.

The purpose of the following sketch (for no more than a sketch is attempted) is to call attention to some of the more important evidence afforded by the Latin language in regard to this interesting problem. So far as this evidence goes, it seems to point to the conclusion that there never was such a

thing as a Graeco-Italian period, a time when the Italians and Hellenes formed a separate nation. Italian history is rooted in an early condition of life which, probably before the Latin language existed in the form in which we know it, had reached the stage of a well-developed agricultural and urban society.

What did the primitive Italians know of the sea or of navigation? Putting out of sight the words *pontus* and *pelagus*, which are almost certainly borrowed from the Greeks, we are confronted with *mare*. Of this word Greek knows nothing, though in *μαρ-αίω* it has perhaps preserved the base from which it is derived, *mar-* to destroy. But the Celtic and Teutonic languages have *mare* in the sense sometimes of sea, sometimes of marsh. The Celts had *mór* and the Goths *marei* in the sense of sea; the English *mór* a moor, *marish* a marsh, *meer* a lake. Diefenbach thinks that the meaning of all these words is marsh, and the original idea that of mould or crumbled earth¹. This may or may not be true; but in Latin *mare* seems to have been used originally for a flood or sheet of water. Isidore² says: *Omnis congregatio aquarum, sive salsae sint sive dulces, abusive maria nuncupantur*, a statement which would, so far as the original use of the word goes, be more correct if *abusive* were omitted. The local name of the Timavus was *mare*, due probably to its remarkable floods³: and Vergil, with his usual tact, has preserved this reminiscence in the line: *It mare proruptum et pelago premit arva sonanti*. Again, the local goddess of the marshes at the mouth of the Liris was *Marica*, no doubt from *mare*, but whether in the sense of a flood or of a marsh is uncertain. The *Marsi* may have derived their name from the lake near which they lived. Lucretius has no difficulty

¹ *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der Gothischen Sprache*, 2. p. 44. Max Müller (*Lectures on the Science of Language*, 2. p. 354) explains *mare* as = 'dead or stagnant water as opposed to the running streams (*Peau vive*) or the unfruitful expanse.'

² Orig. 13. 14.

³ Servius on Aen. 1. 246, *Varro dicit hunc fluvium ab incolis mare nominari*.

in speaking of *aëris mare*¹, the wide expanse of air. All things considered, it is perhaps best to look in *mare* for the sense of waste; whether it be the wasting or destruction caused by a flood, or the unfruitful character of a lake or marsh.

In any case the fact that the idea of sea should have been expressed by the ancient Italians by a word unknown to the Hellenes goes to shew that the Hellenes cannot have come to their settlements in Hellas, and the Italians to their settlements in Italy, by the same sea-route. Indeed, several considerations lead to the inference that the Italians cannot have come to Italy by sea at all.

It is remarkable that the old Latin words for harbour and island meant also (and I am disposed to think originally) a house or home. Verrius Flaccus tells us² that *portus* in the Twelve Tables was by almost universal consent explained as equivalent to *domus* : Placidus³ says that it was used for a house or a door, and sometimes for a colonnade. *Portus*, then (from *por-* to pass through), would mean originally a passage, and so a door, or the house into which the door opened. Let us consider, in this connection, another interesting word—I mean *insula*. There is, of course, no need to remind the reader that *insula* could mean not only an island but a lodging-house. May it then be connected with the Gothic *sal-jan*, to go in and live in a place, and *salithva*, a shelter? If so, *insula* would mean originally a place of rest, and would be connected with *consul* and *exul*, he who lives or stays with, he who lives or stays away⁴. And the notions of harbour and island may have been transferred to *portus* and *insula* after the Italians had become acquainted with the sea.

It is extremely doubtful whether the ancient Roman religion knew anything of the sea, for *Neptunus* is the god, not of the

¹ 5. 276.

² Festus, p. 233 (Müller), *portum in XII pro domo positum omnes fere consentiunt*.

³ P. 74 (Deuerling), *portum domum vel ianuam: interdum porticum*. Donatus on Ter. Adelp. 4. 2. 39 *nam domos vel portus vel insulas veteres dicebant*.

⁴ Professor Max Müller, in a note to the writer, compares the Sanskrit *ni-shad*, Niederlassung, settlement: from the base *sad-* = *sal*.

sea, but of the threatening or bursting cloud¹, of rain-water and storm. Of river and bridge-worship, however, it knew a great deal. Among the oldest ceremonies of the Roman religion were the rites performed by the *Salii* on the *pons sublicius* or pile-bridge over the Tiber². In spite of the contrary opinion of Marquardt and other scholars, I am inclined to think that the *pontifices* were originally bridge-makers. Their *insignia* were a large axe called *sacena* or *scena*³, the *secespita* or knife for sacrificing, and the *aspergillum* or instrument for sprinkling lustral water.

A strong objection to this theory has been based on the fact that *pontifices* existed, not only in Rome, but in several Italian towns where there were no bridges, as Praeneste, Lanuvium, Alba, and a number of places in southern Italy. May not the word, however, date from the time of the original migration of the Italians? Supposing that this migration took place by land, a number of rivers must have been passed, the art of bridge-making must have become a very necessary one, and its professors important personages. Thus the word may have become rooted in the Italian language as the name of a high

¹ *Neptunus* is immediately derived from a base *neptu-*, which is connected with the Sanskrit *nabh-*, to burst or spring forth. From this are formed the Sanskrit *nabhas*, Greek *νέφος*, and Latin *nebula*, a cloud. On Georgic 1. 12 Servius says *quoniam Neptunus et fluminibus et fontibus et omnibus aquis praeest, ut ipse docet* (Georg. 4. 29) ‘*aut praeceps Neptuno immerserit Euris.*’ Compare Aen. 5. 14 *Heu quianam tanti cinxerunt aethera nimbi, Quidve, pater Neptune, paras?*

² Servius on Aen. 2. 166 *quidam, pontifices a ponte sublicio, qui primus Tiberi impositus est, appellatos tradunt, sicut Saliorum carmina loquuntur.* Varro, L. L. 5. 83 *ego (pontifices nominatos esse) a ponte arbitror; nam ab his (pontificibus) sublicius factus est primum, cum in eo sacra et uls et cis Tiberim non mediocri ritu fiunt.* Dionysius 3. 45 *τὴν ξυλίην γέφυραν, ἣν ἄνευ χαλκοῦ καὶ σιδήρου θέμεις ὑπ’ αὐτῶν διακρατεῖσθαι τῶν ξύλων . . . ἦν ἄχρι τοῦ παρόντος διαφυλάττουσιν, ἱερὰν εἶναι νομίζοντες. Εἰ δέ τι πονήσειεν αὐτῆς μέρος, οἱ ἱεροφάνται θεραπεύουσι, θυσίας τινὰς ἐπιτελοῦντες ἅμα τῇ κατασκευῇ πατρίους.* Marquardt (Römische Alterthümer, 3. p. 238 foll.) would derive *pontifex* from *pu-*, purification, and *facio*.

³ Festus, p. 318 (Müller), *Scena ab aliis, a quibusdam sacena appellatur dolabra pontificalis.* Paulus, p. 349, *secespita cultrum ferreum, oblongum, manubrio eburneo, rotundo, solido, vincito ad capulum argento auroque fixum, clavis aeneis, aere Cyprio, quo flamines, flaminicae, virgines pontificesque ad sacrificia utebantur.*

priestly official, and have survived even in localities where its original meaning was forgotten.

The traditions connected with the *depontani senes*¹ seem to me to point in the same direction. The general idea among the Romans themselves was that the ceremony of throwing twenty-four images every year into the Tiber preserved the memory of a primitive sacrifice, which consisted in throwing twenty-four old men from the bridge into the river. No doubt, as the passages quoted in the note will shew, another explanation of the phrase *depontani senes* was current among scholars. It was said that *depontanus* had nothing to do with an ordinary bridge, but only with the bridge or passage over which the voters passed to record their suffrages; and that a *depontanus senex* was an old man past the age of sixty, who, being relieved of further service to the commonwealth, was said to be thrown down from the polling-bridge. But this explanation, though it has the high authority of Varro on its side, appears to me to be due to the over-ingenuity of an antiquarian. It seems to run counter to the spirit of the passages which I have cited, as it undoubtedly runs counter to the popular belief. This belief is perhaps most

¹ Varro, L. L. 7 44, *Argei fiunt e scirpis, simulacra hominum XXIV: ea quotannis de ponte sublicio a sacerdotibus publice deici solent in Tiberim.* Dionysius I, 38 *προθύσαντες ἱερὰ τὰ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους οἱ καλούμενοι Ποντίφικες, ἱερέων οἱ διαφανέστατοι, καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς αἱ τὸ ἀθάνατον πῦρ διαφυλάττουσαι παρθένοι, στρατηγὸί τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν οὓς παρέιναι ταῖς ἱερουργίαις θέμυς. εἶδωλα μορφαῖς ἀνθρώπων εἰκασμένα, τριάκοντα τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἀπὸ τῆς ἱερᾶς γεφύρας βάλλουσιν ἐς τὸ ρεῦμα τοῦ Τιβέρος, Ἀργείους αὐτὰ καλοῦντες.* Paulus, p. 15, *Argeos vocabant scirpeas effigies, quae per virgines Vestales annis singulis iaciebantur in Tiberim.* See also Ovid, *Fasti*, 5. 621 foll. The number is uncertain, but modern scholars mostly follow Varro in supposing it to have been twenty-four.

Nonius, p. 523, *sexagenarios per pontem mittendos male diu popularitas intellexit, cum Varro de Vita Populi Romani libro II honestam causam veramque patefecerit. Cum in quintum gradum pervenissent, atque habebant sexaginta annos, tum denique erant a publicis negotiis liberi atque otiosi. Ideo in proverbium quidam putant venisse ut diceretur sexagenarios de ponte deici oportere, quod suffragium non ferant, quod per pontem ferebant.* Festus, p. 334, after supporting this theory, quotes the comedian Afranius in support of the other: *vanam autem opinionem de ponte Tiberino confirmavit Afranius in Repudiato.* Add Cicero *Pro Roscio Amer.*, § 100, *habeo etiam dicere quem contra morem maiorum minorem annis sexaginta de ponte in Tiberim deiecerit.* Varro *Sexagessis* (ap. Non. p. 86), *vix effatus erat, cum more maiorum ultro casnares arripiunt, de ponte deturbant in Tiberim.*

strikingly illustrated by the seventeenth poem of Catullus, which gains doubly in point if we explain it with reference to the early Italian bridge-worship: *O Colonia, quae cupis ponte ludere longo, Et salire paratum habes, sed vereris inepta Crura ponticuli assulis stantis in redivivis, Ne supinus eat cavaque in palude recumbat, Sic tibi bonus ex tua pons libidine fiat, In quo vel Salisubsili sacra suscipiantur, Munus hoc mihi maximi da, Colonia, risus. Quendam municipem meum de tuo volo ponte Ire praecipitem in lutum per caputque pedesque Nunc eum volo de tuo ponte mittere pronum.* Here we have the bridge, the god¹ (or the dancing priests), and the victim.

Turning to the words connected with navigation, we find that the Italians have their own expressions, unknown to the Greeks, for raft, boat, mast and sail. *Navis* is indeed generally taken by etymologists to be an Indo-Germanic word identical with the Greek *ναῦ-s*, Sanskrit *nau-s*, and Old Persian *nāv-i*. But it may, after all, like *navita*, *nauta*, and *nausea*, be borrowed from the Greek. In any case, Schrader (*Sprachvergleichung und Urgeschichte*, p. 407) may be right in saying that the word meant originally no more than a boat hollowed out of a tree. The Latin words *ratis*, *linter* or *lunter*, and *carina*, are quite unknown to Greek. *Ratis* is probably to be derived from *rā-*, to join or fix, and means a raft². The etymology of *linter* is extremely doubtful; but to connect it, as modern scholars do, with the Greek *πλουτήρ*, a wash-tub, is quite gratuitous. There is no difficulty, however, about the meaning of the word; it is a river-boat hollowed out of a tree³. *Carina*⁴ was originally not

¹ The god, if we read *salisubsili* with the manuscripts: the dancing priests, if we accept Hand's emendation *salisubsilis*.

² Varro, L. L. 7. 23, *ratis . . . ubi plures mali, aut trabes iuncti aqua ducuntur*. Paulus, p. 272, *rates vocantur tigna colligata, quae per aquam aguntur: quo vocabulo interdum etiam naves significantur*. Isid. 19. 1. 9, *rates primum et antiquissimum navigii genus e rudibus tignis asseribusque consortum*. Pompeius, p. 205 (Keil), *rates proprie dicimus conexiones trabium per quas descendimus ad fluvium*.

³ Nonius, p. 535, *lintres, naves fluminales: Vergilius Georg. I (262) 'cavat arbore lintres.'* So Servius on the passage quoted.

⁴ The Cruquian scholia on Horace Epod. 10. 20 say *carina totius navis compago est*. This statement is not quite accurate, but is not far from the

the keel, but the lower part of the hull, and the word is in all probability connected with *car-ēre*, to be empty, *cassus*, and *caries*. Thus its original meaning was probably a shell or husk: who knows indeed whether we have not, in this word, a memory of the time when a nut-shell suggested to some ingenious inventor the shape of a boat?

For mast and sail the Italians had their own words (*malus*, *velum*); nor am I at all convinced that *remus* is the same word as the Greek ἑρεμῶς. though this has been commonly assumed. On the other hand, *prora*, *aplustre*, *anquina*, *ancora*, *antenna*, *contus*, and some other expressions relative to the details of navigation, are borrowed from the Greek (Schrader, p. 112)¹.

Such indications, then, as are afforded by language, seem to shew that the rudiments of navigation were mastered by the Italians independently of the Hellenes. How does the matter stand with regard to agriculture and the art of war?

The primitive Indo-Germans were acquainted with the domestic uses of the horse, the dog, the ox, the sheep, and the goat; perhaps also with that of the swine, which was at any rate known to them in its wild variety. The use of the swine in sacrifice may be noticed as an Italian trait. We may also observe, but without laying too much stress on the fact, that the Italians have preserved some names of the domestic

truth. For instance, *carina* is used metaphorically of a dog's chest by Nemesianus Cyn. 110, *multamque gerat sub pectore lato Costarum sub fine decenter prona carinam, Quae sensim rursus sicco se colligit alveo*. Speaking of the breasts of animals Pliny says (11. 207), *pectus homini tantum latum, reliquis carinatum. volucris magis et inter eas aquaticis maxime*. From these passages we should expect *carina* to be not straight and sharp, like a keel, but wide and rounded; and so Ennius (Ann. 560 Vahlen) says *carbasus alta vocat pandam ductura carinam*; Verg. Georg. 2. 445 *pandas ratibus posuere carinas*, where Servius explains *pandas* as = *incurvas*. Caesar, Bell. Civ. 3. 13, *carinae aliquanto planiores quam nostrarum navium, quo facilius vada ac decessum aestus excipere possent*, i. e. the bottoms were somewhat flatter than those of our ships. Catullus, 64. 10, *pineae coniungens inflexae texta carinae*; Ovid, Met. 14. 534, *incurvae fumabant transtra carinae*.

It is worth mentioning that Osbern in his *Panormia* (ap. Mai. Cl. Auct. vol. 8, p. 107) says *carire dividere, unde carina locus in media navi in quo aquae putridae ex diverso collectae manant, unde et quidam volunt illud a carie derivare, id est a putredine*.

¹ Schrader remarks (p. 407) 'Die Schiffahrt scheint in dem Leben der alten Indogermanen eine sehr untergeordnete Rolle gespielt zu haben.'

animals which are unknown in Greek : e. g. *vacca*, *porcus*, *verres*, *scrofa*, *aries*, *vervex*, *hircus*.

Animals caught and tethered were called by the ancient Indians, Teutons, and Italians *paç-u-s*, *pec-us*, *faih-u*, from an assumed base *paç-* to capture, to bind¹. But the Greeks had either lost, or never possessed, this appellation, for etymologists now refuse, and rightly, to connect $\pi\acute{\omega}\nu$ with this family of words. For the land itself it is curious that the Latin words *terra* and *tellus* should have no Greek parallels. The case is of course different with *ager*, which is an Indo-Germanic word. Yet its meaning varies slightly in the different languages. In his lexicon to the Rigveda, Grassmann explains *ajrā-s* as meaning land over which one may drive, *Trift*; and thus a grassy and flower-covered plain as contrasted with mountains. In Homer *ἀγρός* is rather the field or country as opposed to the town, and this is of course its use in Latin. But it has also in Latin the special sense, which in Greek I believe it never bears, of the territory belonging to a city or *populus*. The German use of *acker* seems, according to Grimm, to correspond very much with the Latin use of *ager*: it means either field, land in general, or a field, a particular piece of cultivated ground.

Some kind of ploughing, or at least of turning up the soil, was known to the European branches of the Indo-Germanic family before their separation. The process was expressed by the base *ar-*, which appears in *ἀρόω*, *ἀρο-τρον*, *arvus*, *arare*, Gothic *arjan*, and Old English *erian*. It must however be remembered that *ἀρόω* and *ἀροτρον* may have been formed from the base *ar-* independently of *arare* and *aratrum*.

Latin has another formation from the same base, *ar-uus*, which it would be rash to identify with the Greek *ἀρορα*. It may be, then, that nothing here is common to Greek and Latin but what is shared by both with the Teutons.

To express sowing the Italians had, in common with the Goths, Slavs, and Celts, a base *sa-*, from which we find various

¹ *Pāça-s*, as Professor Max Müller reminds the writer, is the Vedic word for tether.

formations. Latin has *să-tus* and *să-tio*, *sě-ro* (= *sě-so*) and *sě-get-*, *sē-vi*, *sē-men*, *se-mentis*, and *sēmo*, besides the names *Seius* and *Seia*. Gothic presents us with *saian* and Old English with *sawan*, to sow. Greek only exhibits this base in the sense of sifting (*σάω*, *σή-θω*), and whether Sanskrit possesses it at all is doubtful.

But perhaps the fact most interesting in this connection is suggested by the varying fortunes of the base *col-*, to tend, cultivate¹. In Greek it is mostly applied to the tending of goats, cattle, or horses (*αι-πόλος*, *βου-κόλος*, *ιππο-πόλος*): in Latin it means to cultivate or to live in. As Curtius remarks²: 'It is a significant circumstance that in the East and in Greece it preserves its application to the tending of cattle, while in Italy it is applied mainly to agriculture and religion.' Pursuing this reflection a little further, we observe not only that *colo* is constantly used in Latin for the cultivation of the land, but that the word *col-onus* means a person holding the status of a cultivator, as *patronus* and *matrona* are persons occupying the status of father and mother. This old word then, with its important derivative *colonia*, implies the existence in Italian communities, from an early time, of a recognized class devoted to the cultivation of the land.

The names of the simplest products of the earth are, on the whole, different in Greek and Latin. We may grant (though the point is very doubtful) that *gra-men* is connected with *gar-* (= *guar-*), to swallow, and the Cyprian *γράφω*, to eat, cited by Curtius (p. 478) from Hesychius³. *Her-ba*, again, may be the same word as *φορ-βή*; but its general meaning and application are quite different. For tree the Italians had a word unknown,

¹ Perhaps, as Benfey and Ascoli think, identical with the Sanskrit *char-*, to go, to walk over.

² *Griech. Etymologie*, p. 470.

³ *Γρά, φάγε, Κύπριοι*. This base *grā-*, which is generally connected with *gar-*, to swallow, occurs in Latin in *grā-men* and *grā-num*, perhaps also in *grā-tus*. *Gar-* or *guar-*, however, is generally supposed to be represented in Latin by *vor-* in *vorare*, *omni-vor-us*: if this connection is established, *grā-* must be separated from *gar-*. *Grā-num* has been supposed to be related to *γῆρ-ις*, fine meal, and the Gothic *kaur̥n*, English *corn*, &c. (Curtius, p. 114). But *grā-num* does not mean meal: while its connection with *kaur̥n* is extremely doubtful, as Diefenbach has seen (*Vergl. Wörterbuch*, 2. p. 442).

not only to the Hellenes, but to the Indo-Germans in general, *arbor*: their word for flower (*flos*) has cognates in Celtic and German, but not in Greek¹. The oldest Italian words for the cereals are mostly derived from two bases, *for-* (or *far-*?) and *fru-*. From the first we have *for-deum* (later *hordeum*) barley, and perhaps *far*, spelt. Etymologists now incline to connect *far* with *fero*, to bear, in the sense of sustaining or supporting. This is no more than hypothesis: but whatever the truth may really be, it seems probable that *fordeum* and *herba* should be connected together, and both with the Greek *φορ-βή* and the English *bar-ley*².

From *fru-* are derived, not only *fru-x*, *fru(gv)or* and *frumentum*, but *fru-men* or *ru-men*, a word which means both the throat (or the top of the throat) and a kind of pulse³. It seems to me natural to connect all these words together, explaining *fru-* as meaning 'to eat,' although I am aware that Bezenberger supposes *frumen*, the throat, to be akin to the Greek *φάρ-υγξ*.

Ador has no Greek cognates, but may, as Diefenbach and after him Schrader suggest, be akin to the Gothic *atisks*, a corn-field⁴. *Faba* has a parallel in the Old Prussian *babu*, Lithuanian *bobu*. *Avena*, whether or no Hehn be right in connecting it with *ovis* and *avilla*, and explaining it as sheep-barley, i.e. wild barley⁵, has no parallel in Greek.

It would appear then that the Italians were in the earliest times

¹ Gothic *blō-ma*, *blō-th*: Old Irish *blath*.

² Terentius Scaurus, Orth. p. 11 (Keil), *quod illi fordeum dicebant, nos hordeum*: so Quintilian 1. 4. 14. Nigidius Figulus is quoted by Servius on Georg. 1. 120 as identifying *φορβή* with *herba*, which, he adds, was in the country dialect called *fibra*. Schrader, p. 360, connects *far* with the Gothic *baris*, the Old Norse *bar*, barley, and the Old Slavic *burn* (*militi genus*). See also Diefenbach, i. p. 287. The connection of *hor-deum* with *κρή* and *κρη-θή* is now generally given up.

³ Servius on Aen. 1. 178, *frugum nomen tractum est a frumine, id est eminentie gutturis parte*. Paulus, p. 270, *rumen est pars colli qua esca devoratur*. Donatus on Ter. Ad. 5. 8. 27, *fruatur, alatur: quia frumen dicitur summa gula, per quam cibum lingua demittit in gulam*: so on Eun. 4. 7. 46. Nonius, p. 18, explains *rumen* as *locus in ventre quo cibus sumitur*. Servius on Aen. 8. 90 says, according to the manuscripts, *pars gutturis ruma dicitur*. If this is not a mistake for *rumen*, the word *ruma* should perhaps be cited in this context. Arnobius, 7. 24, quotes *frumen* as *pultium nomen*.

⁴ Professor Max Müller suggests also the English *oat*.

⁵ So *capri-ficus*, and our *dog-violet*.

acquainted with barley, spelt, and the bean¹. But not only are the names of these plants different in Latin and in Greek, but the affinities of the Latin words are rather with the northern than with the eastern languages.

It has often been noticed that for the weapons of war the Italians and Greeks had an entirely different terminology. Arms in general are in Latin *arma*, a word formed from the favourite base *ar-*, to fit or put together, and originally meaning implements of any kind. *Cassis, galea, curis, hasta, veru, pilum, ensis, gladius, ancile, clipeus* or *clupeus, arcus, sagitta, lorica, ocreae*: none of these words have Greek cognates used in the same sense, and most of them are peculiar to Italian soil. The only exceptions to this statement are to be found in the word *ensis*, Sanskrit *así-s*, which Schrader thinks meant originally a dagger-shaped knife; in *galea*, which may be connected with the Greek *καλ-*, to cover (*καλ-ύβη*, &c.); in *scutum*, the covered shield, related to the Greek *σκῦτος* and *κύτος*; and in *gladius*, which appears to have Celtic affinities.

In his very interesting work on the pile-villages in the valley of the Po, Helbig has shewn that bronze-work is found in many of those villages in northern Italy. Several Latin words and usages, however, point to the previous existence of stone weapons. The base *sac-*, apparently meaning sharp or cutting, is most familiar in the common word *saxum*, a sharp stone. When this word was formed, it must have been common to sharpen stones. It was with a *saxum*, a sharpened flint, that, according to the oldest rites of the Roman religion, the victim was slain: hence the proverb, *inter sacrum saxumque sto*². Paulus, pp. 92, 115, thus describes the ancient ceremony observed at the ratifying of a treaty: *Ex (Iovis Fereetrii) templo sumebant sceptrum, per quod iurarent, et lapidem silicem, quo foedus ferirent. Lapidem silicem tenebant iuraturi per Iovem, haec verba dicentes: 'Si sciens fallo, tum me Dispiter salva urbe arceque bonis eiciat, uti ego*

¹ Schrader quotes Pliny 18. 72, *antiquissimum in cibus hordeum*. Wheat (*triticum*, from *tero* to grind) was a later importation.

² Plautus, Capt. 617. Livy, 1. 24. 9, *porcum saxo silice percussit*.

hunc lapidem. The formula of oath appears to have been *Iovem lapidem iuro*¹, that is, in all probability, 'I swear by Jupiter and the stone.' To the same base *sac-* may perhaps be referred *sag-itta* (a stone-headed arrow?) and *sac-ena*, the axe of the *pontifices* (see p. 27).

The oldest Latin word for metal is *aes*, a general term, which while meaning in Sanskrit metal of any kind, is confined in Latin to bronze and copper. Schrader is no doubt right in supposing its original meaning to be copper. He is, however, I think, wrong in treating *raudus* as unwrought copper or bronze. The note on this word in Festus² clearly shews it to have meant unwrought material of any kind.

Iron, if *ferrum* (= *fersum*) is rightly identified with the Hebrew *barzel* and the Aramaic *parzela*, must have come to Italy through Semitic hands. *Argentum* (Oscan *aragēlom*) has all the appearance of a word borrowed in early times from the Greek, for the base *arg-*, to shine, does not appear elsewhere in the Italian languages. Gold (*aurum* for *ausum*, the shining substance) probably came to Italy from the north, for *aurum* is identical with the Prussian *ausis* and the Lithuanian *auksas*.

The Indo-Germans were familiar, before their separation, with at least the rudiments of the art of building, as is attested

¹ The passages bearing on this expression, besides that quoted in the text, are the following : Polybius 3. 25, Τὸν δὲ ὄρκον ὀμνύειν ἔδει τοιοῦτον· ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν πρώτων συνθηκῶν, Καρχηδονίου μὲν, τοὺς θεοὺς τοὺς πατράους· Ῥωμαίους δὲ, Δία Λίθον, κατὰ τὴ παλαιὸν ἔθος· ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων τὸν Ἄρην καὶ τὸν Ἐννάλιον. ἐστὶ δὲ τὸ Δία Λίθον τοιοῦτον· λαβὼν εἰς τὴν χεῖρα λίθον ὁ ποιούμενος τὰ ὄρκια περὶ τῶν συνθηκῶν, ἐπειδὰν ὁμῶση δημοσίᾳ πίστει, λέγει τάδε· εὐορκοῦντι μὲν ποιεῖν τάγαθά· εἰ δ' ἄλλως διανοηθεῖν τι ἢ πράξαιμι, πάντων τῶν ἄλλων σαζομένων ἐν ταῖς ἰδίαις πατρίσιν, ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις νόμοις, ἐπὶ τῶν ἰδίων βίων, ἱερῶν, τάφων, ἐγὼ μόνος ἐκπέσοιμι οὕτως ὡς ὄδε λίθος νῦν. καὶ ταῦτα εἰπὼν, ῥίπτει τὸν λίθον ἐκ τῆς χειρός. Cicero, Fam. 7. 12. 2, *quid autem tibi placebit Iovem Lapidem iurare, cum scias Iovem iratum esse nemini posse?* Apuleius, De Deo Socratis 5, *iurabo per Iovem lapidem Romano vetustissimo ritu?* Gellius 1. 21. 4, *Iovem lapidem, quod sanctissimum iusiurandum est habitum, paratus ego iurare sum*. The stone was, however, evidently the symbol not of Jupiter, but of the man who was taking the oath. The idea that the *lapis* represented Jupiter may easily have grown up among the Romans after the true meaning of the words had been forgotten : but the only passage which gives it any real support is a note of Servius on Aen. 8. 67, *antiqui Iovis signum silicem putabant esse*.

² P. 265, *saxum quoque raudus appellant poetae*.

by the Sanskrit *dāma-s*, the Greek *δόμο-s*, the Latin *domu-s*, the Old Slavic *domu*, and the Old Irish *aur-dam* = *πρόδομος*. So also door and roof have in all the principal Indo-Germanic languages the same name: Sanskrit *dvāra-m*, Greek *θύρα*, Latin *for-ēs*, Gothic *daur*, Old Slavic *dvir-i*, Old Irish *dor-us*; Greek *στέγ-os* and *τέγ-os*, Latin *teg-men*, *tec-tum*, Lithuanian *stōga-s*, Old Irish *teg* = house. It must, however, be observed with regard to Greek and Latin that while *δόμος* is not used in the general sense of *home*, *dāmas* in Sanskrit and *domus* in Latin are so used. Of *dāmas* Böthlingk and Roth say that, judging from its usage, it must be derived from *dam-*, to tame, to rule¹. It connotes, not a dwelling in the sense of a building, but the place where a man is master. The Sanskrit lexicographers are therefore inclined to separate *δόμος* from *δέμω* and to connect it with *δάμ-νημι*.

It may be, however, that while *δόμος* is akin to *δέμω*, *domus* is connected with *domare*. It is at any rate a fact that *domus*, bearing as it does the sense of home, is more akin in meaning to the Sanskrit *dāmas* than to the Greek *δόμος*. And it should further be noticed that the common Latin word *dominus*², properly a ruler or tamer, does not occur in Greek at all.

In the few remaining fragments of the Oscan language there occurs a word *faamat*, in the sense of *habitat*, from which etymologists infer the existence of an Oscan word *faama* = a house. In Latin we have the common expression *famulus* a house-servant, and its derivative *familia* a collection of such servants³. *Famuletium* was an old word for service or bondage,

¹ 'Das Wort hat in Sanskrit keine andere Ableitung als von *dam* (1); bezeichnet demnach ursprünglich den Ort wo der Mann unumschränkt waltet, Gebiet, Bann des Hauses und Hofes. Dass nicht die Wohnung als Gebäude verstanden ist, zeigt der Gebrauch des Wortes. Ist diese Ableitung richtig, und, wie sich kaum zweifeln lässt, das Griechische *δόμος* gleicher Abstammung mit *dāmas*, so darf jenes nicht mehr auf *δέμω* zurückgeführt werden.' Professor Max Müller, however, dissents from this view.

² Is the word to be analysed *domi-nus*, *dom-inus*, or *do-minus*? Probably the first: and thus it has a parallel in the Sanskrit base *damanya-*, to bind, quoted by Grassmann from the Rig-veda.

³ Paulus, p. 87. *famuli origo ab Oscis dependet, apud quos servus famel (? famul) nominabatur. Ib., famuletium dicebatur quod nunc servitium.*

and Cicero expresses the same idea by *famulatus*. If, as is most probable, the base of these words is *dhā-* to set or fix, then the Greek *θή-*s is akin to *famulus*: but it must be remembered that *famulus* and *familia* have had a special development of their own on Italian soil¹.

In the same way *vicus*, though it still retained, in certain connections, its original meaning of house², is on the whole far removed in its general usage from the Sanskrit *veçā-s* and the Greek *οἶκος*, both of which mean house or family, and came in ordinary parlance to stand for a small unenclosed collection of dwellings.

When we come to consider the Italian words for people, wall, and town, we are forced to the conclusion that town life was developed on Italian soil in entire independence of Hellas. The most important Italian words for community or people are *tuta*³ and *populus*. *Tuta* is usually identified with the Gothic *thiuda*, a people, a word which, according to Diefenbach (ii. p. 706), has cognates in the Slavic languages. For *populus* I do not know that any satisfactory etymology has been suggested. The verb *populare*, to ravage, does not prove that its original meaning was an army. *Populare* may mean to strip a land of its *populi*, just as *spoliare* means to strip a person of his clothes.

The Sanskrit language has a base *mu-* or *mava-* = to bind, with which it is possible that the Latin *mu-rus* and *mu-nia* and the Greek *ἀμύνειν* may be connected. The oldest Latin forms are *moerus*, *moenia*, for *mov-irus*, *mov-inia*. The meaning of the Greek *ἀμύνειν* stops at the simple notion of defence, while its

¹ Professor Max Müller compares the Sanskrit *dhā-man*, home.

² Charisius, p. 99 (Keil), *vici dicuntur humiles domus*. Festus, p. 371, *id genus aedificiorum quae continentia sunt in oppidis . . . id genus aedificiorum quae in oppido prive, id est in suo quisque loco proprio, ita aedificat, ut in eo aedificio pervium sit, quo itinere habitatores ad suam quisque habitationem habeat accessum*. Isid. 15. 2. 12, *vicus autem dictus ab ipsis tantum habitationibus, vel quod vias habeat tantum sine muris. Est autem sine munitione murorum, licet et vici dicantur ipsae habitationes urbis*.

³ *Touta*, *tuta*, or *tota*, in the sense of *populus*, *civitas*, is found in Oscan, Sabellian, Umbrian, and Volscian: Enderis, *Versuch einer Formenlehre der Oskischen Sprache*, p. 53.

cognates in Italy have extended their ramifications into the framework of the national language. For it seems to me simple and natural to connect *munia* or *moenia* in the sense of defences directly with the Oscan *munikus* = *communis*, and the Latin *munis* obliging, serviceable¹. I suppose that *munis* originally meant defending or able to defend. Thus when applied to a person it would stand for serviceable, useful, while the neuter *mune* would mean an act of defence, and so a service, a duty. As applied to a thing, *munis* would again mean capable of defending, and thus *mune* as a substantive² would mean a place of defence, a fortification.

Urbs and *oppidum*, both Italian words, and, so far as I know, without parallels in the cognate languages, deserve special consideration³. *Urbs* has by many etymologists been connected with the Sanskrit base *vardh-*, to increase, to grow. In the unanimous opinion of the ancient Latin scholars, *urbs* was akin to *orbis* and *urvus*, round or curved; and in this case I cannot help thinking that the ancients were right as against their modern brethren⁴. Taking all things into consideration,

¹ Paulus, p. 143, *munem significare certum est officiosum, unde e contrario immunis dicitur qui nullo fungitur officio*: compare Festus, p. 145. Nonius, p. 23, *munes apud veteres dicebantur . . . consentientes ad ea quae amici velint*. Paulus, p. 150, *moenia praeter aedificia significant etiam munia, hoc est officia*.

² Used in the singular by Ennius, according to the manuscript of Festus, p. 145: Müller would on metrical grounds read *Naevius* for *Ennius*.

³ Professor Max Müller, however, compares the Sanskrit *ardha-s*, a place.

⁴ Varro, L. L. 5. 143, *post ea quae fiebat orbis, urbis principium, qui, quod erat post murum, postmoerium dictum eius quo auspicia urbana finiuntur . . . Quare et oppida quae prius erant circumducta aratro, ab orbe et urvo urbes: et ideo coloniae nostrae omnes in litteris antiquis scribuntur urbes, quod item conditae ut Roma, et ideo coloniae ut urbes conduntur, quod intra pomoerium ponuntur*. Servius on Aen. 1. 12, *urbs vocata ab orbe, quod antiquae civitates in orbes fiebant, vel ab urvo parte aratri, quo muri designabantur*. Festus, p. 375, '*urvat*' Ennius in *Andromeda*. *Significat circumdat, ab eo sulco qui fit in urbe condenda urvo aratri quae fit forma simillima uncini curvatione buris et dentis*. Placidus, p. 73, *oburvas circumscribis: dictum ab urvo, quae est incurvatura aratri, vel a sulco urbium, qui primus aratro circumductus propter altitudinem murus appellabatur*. Varro, L. L. 5. 127, *imburvum fictum ab urvo, quod ita flexum ut redeat susum versus, ut in aratro quod est urvum*. Pomponius, quoted in the Digest 50. 16. 239. 6, *urbs ab urbo appellata est. Urbare est aratro definire: et Varus (? Varro) ait urbem appellari curvaturam aratri quod in urbe condenda adhiberi solet. Urvus (Oscan urvuvu) seems to have*

it would seem the most natural course to connect *urbs* with the Sanskrit base *vara-* to cover, surround¹, and to explain it as meaning originally a circle or enclosure.

Oppidum is, in an inscription of the year 123 or 122 B.C.², spelt *oppedum*. As the adverb *oppido*, according to the unanimous testimony of the ancient Latin scholars, was equivalent to *valde*, it is *prima facie* reasonable to suppose that *oppidum* must originally have meant *validum*, strong. And that *oppidum* meant a strong or fenced place there is no doubt. Servius says (on Aen. 9. 608) that *oppidum* was sometimes defined as *locus muro fossave aliave qua munitione conclusus*. Used in connection with the circus³, *oppidum* meant the enclosure in which the chariots waited before the race began. Caesar⁴, when he speaks of *oppidum Cassivelauni silvis paludibusque munitum*, means not the town, but the stronghold of Cassivelaunus: and this is probably the sense of the word in the fourth Georgic⁵, *grandaevus oppida curae, Et munire favos*. The usage of the word goes altogether against the theory that *oppidum* has anything to do with *πέδον*, a plain. The ancient Latin scholars, who were always willing enough to discover Greek affinities for Latin words, never dreamed of such an idea.

Mr Sharland of Balliol College has suggested to me that the base of *op-pidum* is *ped-*, to bind (properly, perhaps, to bind the feet), which meets us again in *ped-um*⁶, *com-ped-*, *imped-ire*, *ped-ica*, and the Greek *πέδ-η*. Taking *ob* in its old sense of around, *op-ped-um* will thus mean an enclosure, a fastness.

meant round or curved, and *urvum* the curved tail of the plough. It is doubtful, however, whether *urbus* is not the right form. It has the support of the Florentine MS. of the Digest, and is also found in good MSS. of Placidus and Servius ll. cc., and in the Oriel MS. of Isidore 15. 2. 3. *Ur-geo* and *ur-na* may be cognates of *urbs* and *ur-vus*.

¹ 'Verhüllen, bedecken, umschliessen, umringen: zurückhalten, gefangen halten.' Böthlingk and Roth.

² Corpus Inscr. Lat. I. 198.

³ Varro, L. L. 5. 153; Paulus, p. 184.

⁴ Bell. Gall. 5. 21.

⁵ V. 178.

⁶ Verona Scholia on Verg. Ecl. 5. 88, *pedum est baculum recurvum quo pastores utuntur*: compare Festus, pp. 210, 249. Perhaps *Pedum*, the name of the Latin town which, in the early wars of Rome, was so often the object of attack, meant a fastness.

The notion of wealth or possessions, and the power, and interest in that power, arising therefrom, was expressed in Latin by the word *res*, which has often, though not with certainty, been identified with the Sanskrit *rā-s*, riches. *Res* must in ancient times have come to bear the sense of a power, a state, so that *res Romana* could be used as = the state of Rome. As applied to the members of a particular state in relation to one another, *res* meant interest, and thus *res summa*¹, as Plautus, Ennius, and Accius said, or *res publica*, the common phrase in classical times, came, from meaning the common good or interest, to stand for the community itself. The word and its associations are of the very essence of Italian usage, yet no parallel to it from the kindred languages can be with certainty adduced.

Passing to the most important words which express the fundamental relations of social and political life we find the same phenomenon. The Italian peoples have a number of words, some of which they share with other Indo-Germanic races, but in no case with the Hellenes, while others are peculiar to themselves. Thus *rex* and *regere*² find their cognates in Sanskrit (*rāj-an* king, *arj-* to direct, order, *rāj-ia-m* kingdom), in the Gothic *reik-s* honourable, *reikista* highest, *reik-i* government, *reiki-non* to rule; while in the ancient Celtic, *rix* is common as a termination of proper names, as *Ambio-rix*, *Dumno-rix*, *Vercingeto-rix*. But the idea of kingship is expressed in Greek by quite a different set of words. Here the only point of contact between Greek and Italian is furnished by the Oscan *meddix* or *meddis*, the last syllable of which no doubt represents *dico* in the sense of giving or assigning, and the first *med-*, which is often identified with the $\mu\epsilon\delta-$ of the Greek $\mu\epsilon\delta-\omicron\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ ³.

¹ Plautus, Mercator 986; *ubi locist res summa?* Ennius, Annals 102 (Vahlen), *astu—summam servare decet rem*: 411, *noenum sperando cupide rem proderere summam*: Accius Atrous (v. 206 Ribbeck), *quod re in summa summum esse arbitror Periculum . . . Contaminari stirpem*. In Aen. 2. 322, *quo res summa loco, Panthu?* Servius explains *res summa* as = *res publica*.

² See Curtius, p. 185.

³ The connection of meaning is, however, hard to trace. For *meddix* see Paulus, p. 123, *meddix apud Oscos nomen magistratus est*. Ennius: 'Summus

The ideas of custom, morality, law were, again, expressed by the Italians by words of their own. *Ius*, perhaps the oldest of these, has no Indo-Germanic parallel, unless it be the indeclinable Sanskrit *yoṣ*, which Grassmann renders *Heil, Glück*, health, or happiness. *Ius* is very probably connected with the *iu-* of *iu-gum* and *iu-ngo*, and means what binds or restrains. *Mos*, custom or law, cannot with certainty be referred to any known base. *Lex*, properly speaking a bond or contract, and in a political sense a contract between the *magistratus* and the *populus*, is an early Italian word found in Oscan and Volscian as well as in Latin, but is, so far as I know, quite foreign to the other Indo-Germanic nations.

It would be easy to pursue this subject into detail, and to shew how a number of words which have a political or social reference are, either in their etymology or in the full development of their usage, or in both, Italian and Italian only: e. g. *auctor, auctoritas; honor; magistratus; dicio; imperium*. But I am, on the present occasion, attempting no more than a sketch, and after all that has been said further detail is unnecessary. It only remains now to call attention to two important phenomena—the ancient Italian system of names, and the appellations of the earliest Italian divinities.

In the Italian system of names, as we know it both in tradition and in historical times, a simple name is coupled with and followed by a determinative, the determinative being usually an adjective denoting the person's *gens* (*Numa Pompilius, Gaius Marcius, Acca Larentia* and the like). A *cognomen* or name indicative of some point distinctive of the individual might or might not be added at pleasure; *Gaius Pontus Telesinus, Publius Cornelius Scipio*. The system must in any case be as old as the institution of *gentes*; but it is possible that there was once, as Varro thought, a time when the Italian names were all

ibi capitur meddix, occiditur alter.' Livy 24. 19. 2, *qui eo anno meddix tuticus erat*: 26. 6. 13, *meddix tuticus, qui summus magistratus apud Campanos est, eo anno Seppius Luscus erat*. The word occurs several times in the *Tabula Bantina* and other Oscan monuments.

single; and in this case the institution of *gentes* was not anterior to the Italian system of names¹.

This question, however, does not concern us here. However the fact may be ultimately determined, there can hardly be a doubt that this system is specifically Italian, not Indo-Germanic. It differs radically from the system of the Indians, the Greeks, the Celts, the Germans, and the Slavs, which is based, as Fick² and other scholars have shewn, on the principle of composition between a substantive and an adjective. Greek names are, in the vast majority of cases, composed of two bases, one of which has an adjectival and the other a substantival force (Εὐρυ-κλεία, Μεγα-σθένης, Πυρι-λάμπης, and the like): and so it is with the names of the ancient Indians and the other nations mentioned above. Now every trace of this system has vanished in the early Italian society. The Italian *praenomina* are simple adjectives, as *Aulus*, *Aunus*, *Acca*, *Quintus*, *Sextus*, &c.; or they are simple derivatives, as *Gaius*, *Publius*, and the like. The mere uniformity of type, (for most Italian *praenomina* and *nomina* end in *-ius*) is a witness to the complete and lengthened separation from the rest of the Indo-Germanic nations in which the social system of Italy must have been developed.

¹ Mommsen (in his *Römische Forschungen*, vol. I. p. 5), says 'In ältester Zeit ist der Individualname einfach; indess wo er von Bürgern vorkommt, steht er doch niemals allein. Die Behauptung der Römischen Gelehrten, dass die ältesten lateinischen Namen eingliedrig gewesen seien, das heisst ans dem blossen Individualnamen bestanden hätten, ist lediglich abstrahirt aus der spät und schlecht erfundenen Romulussage; der Gebrauch, dem Individualnamen gewisse auf die bürgerliche Verhältnisse des Individuums bezügliche und mit dem Namen zu einer Einheit verschmelzende Determinative beizufügen, ist vielmehr unvordenklich alt und zwei oder drei derartige Determinative bis über die Trennung der Stämme zurück verfolgbar.' He refers to the treatise *De Praenominibus* (printed at the end of Halm's *Valerius Maximus*) which opens as follows: *Varro simplicia in Italia nomina ait, existimationisque suae argumentum refert quod Romulus et Remus et Faustulus neque praenomen ullum neque cognomen habuerint. Qui ab eo dissentiant aiunt matrem eorum Ream Silviam vocatam, avum Silvium Numitorem, fratrem eius Amulium Silvium, etc.* The *Aeneid*, it may be observed, is full of simple Italian names. I see no reason for supposing that the custom of adding the gentile determinative to the simple name was not formed by the Italians independently of the other Indo-Germans.

² In his work entitled *Die Griechische Personennamen*.

I pass, in conclusion, to the names of the oldest Italian deities. The Roman religion, as we know it in historical times, reveals several stages of growth. The first represents a period of nature-worship, and is marked by the names of *Iovis*, *Iuno*, *Ianus*, *Mars*, *Neptunus*, and perhaps *Vulcanus*. Another and apparently a very old stratum consists of the gods who preside over home and over agriculture: such as *Vesta*, *Lar*, *Penates*, *Ceres*, *Pales*, *Semo Sancus*, and *Saturnus* or more properly *Saeturnus*. A third stratum exhibits a multitude of deified abstractions, to all appearance the creation of priestly ingenuity, such as *Mercurius*, *Segetia*, *Nodulus*, *Volutina*, *Patelana*, *Hostilina*, *Lacturnus*, and the innumerable host called up from the pages of Varro by Augustine in the fourth book of his *De Civitate Dei*. A fourth set of deities (*Pollux*, for instance, and *Apollo*) were directly borrowed from the Greek.

With the third and fourth we have no concern; but with regard to the two first sets of names it must be observed that, with the exception of *Iovis* and *Vesta*, they are unknown to the Hellenes¹. The complete separation of the Hellenic and Italian religions is indeed sufficiently attested by the fact that the Italians had no mythology, but only the simplest forms of worship. An examination of language takes us further, and elicits the fact that a special set of names was developed, on Italian soil, from bases existing in the other Indo-Germanic languages. *Mars*, the god of destruction, and so the god either of storms or of war; *Neptunus*, the god of the bursting cloud; *Vulcanus*, of the rolling, rushing fire; *Semo* and *Saeturnus*, of sowing; *Pales*, of folding and protecting cattle; all these names are, it would appear, entirely unknown to the Hellenes².

¹ *Dianus* or *Ianus* and *Diana* are Italian derivations from the Indo-Germanic word *diu-s*, bright.

² Of *Neptunus* I have spoken above. *Mars* is often identified with *Marūt-*, the title of the storm-gods in the Rig-veda. Grassmann supposes *mar-* in this instance to mean 'to shine' (compare *μαρ-μαίρω*), and thus makes the *Maruts* and *Mars* gods of shining or brilliancy. It seems to me more natural to connect *Mars* with *mar-cus* a hammer (Isidore 19. 7, *marcus malleus maior*), and to suppose the word to mean *the striker*, so the god of the storm and lightning. This was suggested to me by a note of Paulus (p.

The conclusions which it seems fair to draw from language are, then, the following :—

That all the Indo-Germanic races had, before their separation, attained to a rudimentary, but definite, stage in the arts of civilized life. They had learned how to domesticate certain animals; they had acquired some knowledge of agriculture; they had developed the family system as opposed to the tribal system of life; they had, up to a certain point, mastered the knowledge of numbers. But the Italians, that is, the immigrants who separated into the Latin, Sabine and Oscan peoples, advanced independently, and probably after their settlement in Italy, to a higher stage of agriculture, to a more advanced form of town life, to certain definite forms of society and of polity, and to the establishment of a particular form of religion. There was no such thing as a Graeco-Italian period, but the affinities of the Italians were stronger with the northern and western branches of the Indo-Germanic family than with the Hellenes.

131), *Mamercus praenomen est Oscanum ab eo quod hi Martem Mamertem dixerunt*. *Mamercus* must be *marcus* reduplicated, as *Mamers* stands for *Mar-mers*: the forms *Mar-mar* and *Mar-mor* actually occur in the *carmen fratrum Arvalium*. *Ma-murius* (= *Mar-murius*) is the smith of the Italian legend. *Mar-* is explained by Böthlingk and Roth as = *zerschlagen, zerstören*. Thus *marcus* would be the thing, *Mars* the person, whose function it is to strike and destroy. The form *Maspiter* (= *Mars pater*) is attested by Varro, L. L. 8, § 49; 9, § 76; 10, § 65. *Māvors* I believe to be a different word from *Mamers*. Cicero (N. D. 2, § 67) mentions an etymology for *Mavors*, *qui magna verteret*. As far as *verto* is concerned, I think that he or his authority was right: *Mavors* may well mean 'the averter of destruction' (*mar-vort-*). See further Max Müller, Lectures 2. p. 357 foll.

Vulcanus is connected by Grassmann with *vark'*-, to shine: may it not however be akin to *vol-vo, vul-tur*, and perhaps the names *Vol-turnus, Vulcens, Vulcatus*? *Ceres* is connected, Professor Max Müller thinks, with the Sanskrit *çarad-*, harvest: *Pales* may mean the protector: compare *pollere* and *upilio*. *Sacturnus* stands for *Saviturnus*, from *su-*, to sow, beget.

III.

THE

EARLIEST ITALIAN LITERATURE.

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IT may be well to state at the outset that by literature I do not merely mean documents actually preserved by writing or engraving, but all productions capable of being so preserved, whether originally handed down by oral tradition or not. It will be the special aim of this essay to examine the evidence of language as to the character of the earliest Italian literature; for I doubt whether this branch of the subject, important as it is if we would gain anything like accurate ideas, has received the attention which it deserves. It is true that the evidence has been over and over again collected and reviewed, yet, as it seems to me, without sufficient grasp and clearness of conception. In this, as in other cases, conventional criticism, that is, criticism based upon insufficient investigation and handed down unquestioned from scholar to scholar, has exercised its usual baneful effect of obscuring the facts, and producing a confused misrepresentation instead of a clear and natural picture.

The study of Latin etymology, the further it is pursued, seems, as has been argued in the previous essay, to point to the conclusion that the Italian branch of the Indo-Germanic family of nations was for a long time separated from the Hellenic; that its social and political institutions were, in all their main outlines, fully developed before any serious influence from Hellas made itself felt; that its religious system is, in all

essentials, its own creation; and finally, that long before the great revolution introduced into its literature by the study of the Greek masterpieces, it had developed a literature of its own with marked national characteristics, which, in spite of the strenuous efforts of the Hellenizing school, were never wholly effaced.

No candid student of the Hellenic and Italian literatures can fail to recognize a fundamental difference of character between them. In spite of the enormous influence of Greece upon Italy, the two bear unmistakable signs of having sprung from different roots. The poetry and oratory which were born on the Italian soil are of a different temper from those of Greece; their tones are less simple, less sweet, less manifold, but while not less impassioned, are more accented and more national. There are signs also that in the lost works of the earlier Roman historians the germs at least must have been contained of a political philosophy to which the Greeks were strangers. In a word, the Latin literature breathes from first to last the sense of a continually developing national life. Here lies the true inspiration of the poetry and oratory of ancient Italy, and the source of its power in the civilized world. To speak of the early Italians as having no original gift for literary creation is wholly misleading; as if the imaginative impulse could be implanted where it did not exist, or the gift of the Muses be borrowed like money.

An examination of language, our only resource where documents and tradition alike fail us, will help us in some measure to appreciate the elements out of which the national poetry and oratory of the Italians arose. Let me then endeavour to set forth as briefly as possible the evidence to be derived from this source. I propose to speak of the earliest compositions, of the earliest literary caste or order, and of the characteristics, so far as they can be ascertained, of this primitive literature.

The earliest compositions fall roughly into three classes; religious, historical, and dramatic.

The most general word for a composition of a solemn, cere-

monial, or prophetic kind is *carmen*. *Carmen* or *casmen* is a term unknown to the Greeks, but common to the Italians and the ancient Indians. In the Sanskrit of the Vedas¹ *çasman* and *çasā* meant praise or song of praise: the base *çans-* or *ças-* is apparently used in the general sense of a solemn utterance, whether it be the solemn pronunciation of names or formulas, or the offering of praise. The Latin *carmen* has precisely the same applications; it is a ceremonial utterance, whether in verse or prose². A *carmen* might be a charm, an incantation, a formula, or a prophecy.

Without discussing the original meaning of the root from which the word is derived, we are justified in saying that the ancient Indians and the progenitors of the ancient Italians had settled in common the usage of a word which was apparently unknown to the Greeks, and of which no traces remain in any of the Indo-Germanic languages but Sanskrit and Latin, but which in Latin is the simplest and most universal term expressive of a poetical utterance.

As it is with this common substantive, so it is with an equally common verb. *Carmen* (= *casmen* or *cansmen*) has been, for instance by Mommsen, connected with *cano*.³ The etymology is, I suppose, by no means impossible: but whether it be true or no, it is worth noticing that the base *can-* has a different application in Latin, and to a certain extent also in Sanskrit and the Keltic languages, from what it has in Greek. For in Greek *καναχή* and *κόναβος* mean noise, whereas in Sanskrit *kāṇvas* is the proper name of a singer, in old Irish³ *for-chun*, *for-chanim* mean to teach, and in Cornish *cheniah* is a singer. Now *cano* in Latin never has the meaning of mere noise, but always, if not used of singing, implies some form of solemn or ceremonial utterance, prophetic or otherwise.

Perhaps we may go a step further and link the word *cano* with one of the earliest expressions (apparently) for a musical instru-

¹ See Grassmann, *Lexicon zum Rig-veda*, s. v. The long form of the base *çās-* means also 'to blame, punish.'

² Jordan, *Kritische Beiträge*, &c. p. 178 foll.

³ Curtius, *Greek Etymology*, No. 32.

ment. *Canna* is explained in an old Graeco-Latin gloss¹ as = *συρίγγιον ἐκ καλάμων*: Isidore, 17. 7. 57, says that it was the old name for *harundo*. In Apuleius (Metam. 5. 25) *Cannam deam*, if the manuscript may be trusted, is the equivalent for *Σύριγγα*². *Canna* then may very probably have been a name for the reed as an instrument of music, and stand for *cania*, the sounding pipe. There is, as we shall see anon, abundant reason on other grounds for believing that the use of wind instruments was known to the Italians before their contact with the Greeks.

Returning now to *carmen*, let us consider the words *Carmentis* or *Carmenta*, and *Camena*, words which have usually, but I think wrongly, been treated as identical. With regard to *Carmentis*, Daniel's Servius on Aen. 8. 336 preserves the following important notice: *ideo Carmentis appellata a suis quod divinatione fata caneret: nam antiqui vates carmentes dicebantur, unde etiam librarios qui eorum dicta perscriberent carmentarios nuncupatos. Alii huius comites Porrimam et Postvortam tradunt, quia vatibus et praeterita et futura sunt nota* So Ovid Fasti, 1. 630 foll., *Si quis amas veteres ritus, adsiste precanti: Nomina percipies non tibi nota prius: Porrima placantur Postvortaque, sive sorores Sive fugae comites, Maenali diva, tuae.* So far all is plain; *Carmenta* or *Carmentis* is either a prophet or the goddess of prophecy, attended by her sisters or companions *Porrima* or *Antevorta* (Macrob. 1. 7. 20), and *Postvorta*, who sing respectively of things in front (*porro*) or the past, and of things following behind or the future. But the matter is apparently complicated by the fact that the worship of *Carmenta* was especially patronised by married women. Plutarch (Quaestiones Romanae, 56) asks, *διὰ τί τὸ τῆς Καρμέντης ἱερὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς δοκοῦσιν αἱ μητέρες ἰδρύσασθαι, καὶ νῦν καὶ μάλιστα σέβονται*; One of his explanations, like that given by Ovid in his account of the *Carmentalia* (Fasti, 1. 618 foll.), seems to rest, as Preller has remarked, on a confusion

¹ In the glosses published by Vulcanius (1600) under the title of *Philoxeni Lexicon Graeco-Latinum*.

² *Complexus hec homo canam deam.* Jahn would correct this into *complexus Echo montanam deam.* But surely *Syrinx*, not *Echo*, was the favourite of Pan.

between *Carmenta* and *carpentum*, or at least on a supposed connection between these words: the other runs thus, οἱ δὲ μοῖραν ἡγοῦνται τὴν Κάρμενταν εἶναι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο θύειν αὐτῇ τὰς μητέρας. This is supplemented and made perfectly clear by the words of Augustine, *Civ. Dei*, 4. 11: *in illis deabus quae fata nascentibus canunt et vocantur Carmentes*. The reason therefore why the *Carmentes* are worshipped by matrons is because they tell the fortunes of the children. A strangely perverted explanation of their relation to the early days of infants is given by Varro quoted by Gellius, 16. 16. 6¹.

It is thus plain that *Carmentis* or *Carmenta* was deemed to be, whatever else, a goddess of prophecy. The tasteless Hellenizing mythologists made her the mother of Evander. In Vergil (*A.* 8. 336) she is represented as the first who foretold the greatness of Rome. She is also spoken of as having invented the Roman alphabet, or adapted the Greek alphabet to Italian use (*Hyginus*, 277, *Isidore*, 1. 4, &c.). The myth shews a tendency to identify the literary and priestly caste; in other words, it points, in all probability, to the fact that in ancient Italy the seers were the persons who had the knowledge of the ancient religious songs and formulae, and perhaps the control over their composition. It is true that the Roman scholars offer us two distinct theories of the *Carmentes*, one of which makes them soothsayers or *vates*, while the other makes them goddesses. In one point of view the latter theory is doubtless correct, for the temple of *Carmenta* and the altars to the *Carmentes* are historical facts. And it is not impossible that *Carmentis*, which stands in point of form to *carmen* exactly as *sementis* stands to *semen*, may have been originally a mere abstract substantive formed from *carmen*, and have come afterwards to be personified into a goddess. But I confess that it seems to me more natural to suppose that *Carmentis* was originally equivalent to

¹ *Quandoque igitur contra naturam forte conversi in pedes, brachia plerumque diductis, retineri solent, aegriusque tunc mulieres enituntur. Huius periculi deprecandi gratia arae statutae sunt Romae duabus Carmentibus, quarum altera Postverta cognominata est, Prorsa altera, a directi perversique partus et potestate et nomine.*

vates and meant a singer; and that the word afterwards became applied to a supposed goddess of song.

But *Camena*: is this word identical with *Carmentis* and *Carmenta*? So far as the form goes this hypothesis is surely far-fetched; for how are we to account for the extrusion of *s* and the shortening of the first syllable of the word, when the forms *Carmentis* and *Carmenta* have remained intact? It is true that Varro (L. L. 7. 26) is made by his editors to quote *Casmendarum* from an old poet, perhaps from Ennius: there is no doubt also that he, like Verrius after him (Festus, p. 205), assumed that *Casmena* could become *Camena*. But Jordan in his *Kritische Beiträge zur Geschichte der Lateinischen Sprache* (p. 132 foll.) has given us good reason for doubting whether the word *Casmena* can really be traced to Ennius or to any other Latin poet. He suggests with great plausibility that the form is merely a scholar's fiction, as it was also only a scholar's fiction which identified *Casmillus* with *Camillus*. To the critical reasons which Jordan adduces I would add the fact that the *Camenae* are not the same as the *Carmentes*. The *Camenae* are the Italian Muses; goddesses not of prophecy but of literature. There is no trace of *Camenae* ever having meant the same as *vates*. On the etymology of this word I do not venture to offer any hypothesis; but its form suggests that it was a participle from some lost verb.

The reasoning which I have applied to *Carmentis* will, I think, be found to apply quite as easily, if not more so, to *Faunus*. Modern etymologists are for the most part inclined to connect the word *Faunus* with $\phi\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ ($\phi\alpha f$ - os) and to explain it as meaning the god of light, grace, and favour. This idea is so vague and general that it would explain anything or nothing: yet the attributes of *Faunus* are tolerably distinct, and admit also, I think, of a clearer and more natural explanation. The base $\phi\alpha f$ - light and $\phi\alpha$ - speech are treated by Curtius (G. E. p. 296) as identical: may not *Faunus* then originally mean the speaker? Such at least was evidently the opinion of many among the ancient Latin scholars. So Isidore, 8. 11. 87, *fauni*

a fando, ἀπὸ τῆς φωνῆς dicti, quod voce, non signis, ostendere viderentur futura. In lucis enim consulebantur a paganis, et responsa illis non signis sed vocibus dabant. The same idea seems to be implied in Varro's words, L. L. 7. 32, *hos (Faunos)... in silvestribus locis traditum solitos fari futura.* Conversely, *fanum* was by some connected with *faunus*: Paulus, p. 88, *fanum a Fauno dictum.* And *Faunus* again was sometimes identified, sometimes closely connected, with *Fatuus*, the power or god of speech. Servius, Aen. 6. 776, *idem Faunus, idem Fatuus, Fatuclus*: 7. 47, *quidam deus est Fatuclus: huius uxor est Fatua. Idem Faunus et eadem Fauna. Ducti autem sunt a vaticinando, id est, fando. Unde et fatuos dicimus inconsiderate loquentes*; 8. 314, *hos faunos etiam fatuos dicunt, quod per stuporem divina pronuntiant*: Justin, 43. 1, *Fauno fuit uxor nomine Fatua, quae adsidue divino spiritu impleta velut per furorem futura praemonebat, unde adhuc qui inspirari dicuntur fatuari dicuntur.* Arnobius, 1. 36, mentions *Fenta Fatua, Fauni uxor.* Reading between the lines of these notices we discern clearly that *fatuus* (from *fari*) originally meant a speaker, and that it came afterwards to mean a talker, a babbler; that in fact like other words of similar association, for instance our *witch* and *wizard*, it started with a good sense and ended with a bad one, as in course of time the accomplishments of the speaker or the knower became useless. So I believe that *superstitio* originally meant knowledge and the power of prediction, and afterwards false knowledge and false belief¹.

In point of form *faunus* corresponds exactly with *-φωνος* in such words as *βαρβαρόφωνος*, being in fact the masculine of which *φωνή* is the feminine. But we have now to ask how the attributes of *Faunus* are better explained, by reference to the notion of light or to that of speech.

Faunus is spoken of in an ambiguous way, partly as a divine, partly as a human being. He is native to the soil of

¹ *Superstes* in old Latin meant a witness, one who stands by: *superstitiosus* in Plautus means endowed with knowledge, in Ennius prophetic. May not *superstitio*, then, like the Greek *ἐπι-στή-μη*, have meant knowledge in the sense of standing by a thing, witnessing it?

Italy; he is king of the Aborigines and father of Latinus; he is the son, sometimes of Picus, sometimes of Saturnus, and the father of Stercutus; he utters oracles, he keeps off wolves (*Lupercus*). But there are many *fauni*: these appear sometimes as inspired utterers of oracles, sometimes as benevolent, sometimes as mischievous or malignant fairies (Pliny, 25. 29, 30. 84). In their oracular capacity they were supposed to speak in Saturnian verse, which is called after them *Faunius*. Ennius speaks of the *versus quos olim Fauni vatesque canebant*; Varro, L. L. 7. 32, *fauni dei Latinorum, ita ut faunus et fauna sit; hos versibus quos dicunt Saturnios in silvestribus locis traditum est solitos fari futura*. Festus, p. 325, *Saturno dies festus celebratur mense Decembri, quod eo aedes sit dedicata; et is culturae agrorum praesidere videtur, quo etiam falx est ei insigne. Versus quoque antiquissimi, quibus Faunus fata cecinisse hominibus videtur, Saturnii appellantur*. Marius Victorinus, p. 138 Keil, (*versui Saturnio*) *tamquam Italo et indigenae Saturnio sive Faunio nomen dedit*: and with a different turn Placidus, p. 47, *Fauniorum modorum, antiquissimorum modorum, quibus Faunum celebrabant*. It is this fact in particular that determines me to look for the base of *Faunus* in *fav-*, to speak. Once imagine Faunus as a speaker, *προφήτης*, and all becomes clear. He is not only the composer and reciter of verses, but generally the seer or wise man, whose superior knowledge entitles him to the admiration and dread of the country folk who consult him. He tells them how to cultivate the soil and how to keep off the wolves. But as his real nature and functions are superseded, his character is misconceived; he becomes a divinity, the earliest king of Latium, the god of prophecy, the god of agriculture. The *fauni*, from being the seers of the early rustic communities, become unreal beings, speaking with unearthly voices in the recesses of mountain and forest; and when the tide of Graecizing mythology inundates Italian antiquities, the transformation is completed, and the native *fauni* are identified with the *Πάνες* and *σάτυροι* of Hellas.

The reasoning here applied to the Fauni and Carmentes may

perhaps be supported by the history of the word *Pilumnus*, which seems to have meant both a miller and the god of grinding corn. In the mythology he is the inventor of the art of pounding dry corn (Augustine, Civ. D. 6. 9; Servius, Aen. 9. 4, 10. 76): but a note of Varro preserved by Isidore, 4. 11. 5; says, *Pilumnus quendam in Italia fuisse qui pinsendis praefuit arvis, unde et pilumni et pistores.*

We have here the same phenomenon which I think is presented by the *Faunus* and *Carmentis*, the name of a person exercising an art or craft transformed into the name of a divinity.

The transition was easier in the case of *Carmentis* and *Faunus*, words which always retained something of their adjectival origin and association, than in that of *vates*, which throughout all Latin is a substantive and nothing more. The form of the word is almost without analogy in existing Latin, a fact which suggests either that the word is foreign, or that it is very old. Professor Sellar thinks that it is Celtic¹, but it does not appear that the chief modern authorities share his opinion. Vaniquek would connect it with *gā-*, to sing or cry, a base appearing in Sanskrit (*gā-tú-s* song) and in the Greek *γῆ-ρῦ-s* and *γέ-ρω-νε*. The same sense would be yielded by a simpler etymology. *Vā-* means to cry or to speak: of the word *Vaticanus* Varro (ap. Gell. 16. 17. 2) said, *Vaticanus deus nominatur penes quem essent vocis humanae initia, quoniam pueri simul atque parti sunt eam primam vocem edunt quae prima in Vaticano syllaba est, idcircoque vagire dicitur, exprimente verbo sonum vocis recentis.* There is nothing to prevent our acceptance of this etymology, and what holds good of *Vaticanus* must surely be applicable also to *vates*. *Va-te-s* from *va-* may perhaps be compared with the Greek verbals in *-τη-s*, *κρι-τή-s*, and the like.

Vates then, like *Faunus*, is a speaker, and so either a prophet or a bard. Varro, L. L. 7. 36, *antiquos poetas vates appellabant:*

¹ It may be identical with the Irish *faith*; but this would only prove that the word was originally common to the Italians and the Celts, not that one nation borrowed it from the other.

Servius, Aen. 8. 337, *nam vatem et poetam possumus intellegere*. When Ennius speaks contemptuously of *fauni vatesque*, he apparently means the national singers of Italy.

More clearly than *faunus* and *carmentis* does *vates* take us back to the time when the poets were the priests or seers. And the history of the word in literature is quite what analogy would lead us to expect: in a bad sense, as when Ennius says *superstitiosi vates impudentesque harioli*, or Lucretius *religionibus atque minis obsistere vatium*, it means a false prophet: in a good sense, as when Vergil says *me quoque vatem Dicunt pastores, at non ego credulus illis*, *vates* is always the writer of genius, not merely of accomplishment or cultivation.

Thus far then our investigation has brought us across words which seem to imply the existence of a prophetic or priestly class, the depositaries of the sacred literature¹. Most of these words are, if not in form, at least in the development of meaning which they have attained, peculiar to Latin, though one is common to Latin and Sanskrit, one to Latin, Sanskrit, and the Celtic languages.

Turning to Greek, we find that $\phi\omega\nu\omicron\varsigma$ and $\kappa\alpha\nu$ - are used in different ways from *Faunus* and *cano*, while of *carmen*, *carmentis*, and *vates* Greek has no trace at all. Language knows of no Graeco-Italian period, so far as literature is concerned. Let us go further and see whether other facts point in the same direction.

No characteristic of the ancient Italian literature is more marked than its fondness for alliteration, a device which is never laid aside from the earliest and rudest to the latest and most finished monuments. Whether it be simple and obvious as in Nævius, Plautus, and Ennius, or more artistically concealed, as in Vergil, it is a principle of Latin prose and poetry,

¹ Several facts seem to shew that there was once a time when the Roman polity was to a great extent under the control of a priestly order. The *leges regiae* are several times sanctioned by the clause *sacer esto*. The *pontifices* had in historical times the control of marriage, arrogation, and burial. It was in the house of the *pontifex maximus* that the *fasti*, *fasti consulares*, and the *annales maximi* were kept, as well as the *leges regiae*.

a necessity to the ancient Italian ear. Here surely is a positive proof of the long period of separation which must have occurred between the Italians and the Hellenes of pre-historic times. For alliteration, as a principle of composition, is unknown to the ancient Greeks, while on the other hand the Italians and the Teutons are familiar with it. It is not necessary to do more than point out this fact; but it is more important to shew in detail that the early Italian metre is far more similar to that of the ancient Teutons and Indians than to that of the Greeks¹.

Perhaps the most important notice affecting the general principle of the Saturnian metre is that of Servius on Georg. 2. 385, *Saturnio metro . . . quod ad rhythmum solum vulgares componere solebant*: that is, the principle of the metre was, as we should say, not quantitative, but accentual. The complete embarrassment of the other grammarians as to the real nature of the metre fully bears out the remark of Servius. Caesius Bassus (p. 265 Keil) says, *nostri antiqui, ut vere dicam quod apparet, usi sunt eo non observata lege nec uno genere custodito, ut inter se consentiant versus, sed præterquam quod durissimos fecerunt, etiam alios breviores, alios longiores inseruerunt, ut vix invenerim apud Nævium quos pro exemplo ponam*. Atilius Fortunatianus, p. 293 Keil: *et hic versus obscurus quibusdam videtur quia passim et sine cura eo homines utebantur*. The grammarians, who understood no principle of metre but that of quantity, were misled into endeavouring to explain the Saturnian verse by the analogy of Greek measures. This, they admit, they were only able to do to a certain extent, and the instances which they quote are picked out to suit their theory.

But taking into consideration not only the smoother specimens quoted by the grammarians, as *summas opes qui regum regias refregit, magnum numerum triumphat hostibus devictis, duello magno dirimendo regibus subigendis, fundat fugat prosternit maximas legiones, magni Iovis concordæ filiae sorores, dabunt malum Metelli Nævio poetæ*, but the rougher and shorter ones which have survived in literature and inscriptions such as *eorum sectam*

¹ This point has been worked out conclusively by Bartsch and Westphal.

sequuntur multi mortales, we are forced to the conclusion that the Saturnian metre is based as much on accent as on quantity. This theory is, I think, now accepted by many scholars, however much they may differ in detail as to the analysis of the verse. The Saturnian line consists of two members, and its first law seems to be that the *ictus* of the metre corresponds with the accent of the word in the first and the penultimate syllables of the second colon (*Nævio pœtæ, mŭlti mortāles*), and in the penultimate syllable of the first (*dabunt malum Metēlli*). So much is sufficient for our present purpose. Speaking generally, it seems that the Saturnian measure very much resembles the simple accentual verse of which the ancient Teutonic ballad metre affords an example. Admitting however, as it does to a certain extent, the principle of quantity as well as that of accent¹, it stands midway between the German metre in question and the developed quantitative measure in which the Hellenes had learned to express their thoughts before their literature emerges into the light of history. It has been argued with much plausibility by Mr Allen, in a recent volume² of the *Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Sprachforschung*, that the Homeric hexameter is the development of a verse consisting, like the Saturnian, of two *cola* or members, each originally consisting of four beats.

Without accepting in all its details a view which has perhaps hardly been, as yet, sufficiently discussed to have made good its claims, we may safely assert that the Saturnian verse represents a more ancient stage in the development of metre than the Homeric hexameter. This conclusion is historically of the utmost importance, for it clearly points to the fact that the Italians had, independently of the Hellenes, developed a metre suitable to the genius of their language, applicable, as we know, to long

¹ By the principle of quantity I mean the arithmetical equality of one long syllable to two shorts. The Saturnian metre is accentual and quantitative in the same sense as the old dramatic iambic; in other words, it allows the shortening of a long syllable when unaccented (*dēvictis*), and the scansion, under similar circumstances, of an anapaest as an iambus (*dirimendis*).

as well as short compositions, and presumably, therefore, not deficient either in flexibility or in power.

We have the testimony of Ennius that the Saturnian verse was used in the prophecies of the *fauni* and *vates*, and a notice in Charisius (p. 288 Keil) is perhaps best explained on the hypothesis that it was employed also in the service of religious festivals: *quod eius temporis imperiti adhuc mortales huiusmodi usi versibus videantur suas sententias clusisse, vocibusque pro modo temporum modulatis sollemnibus diebus cecinisse.* Caesius Bassus (p. 265 Keil) and Charisius, l. c., tell us further that Saturnians were found in the *lintei libri* and in the *tabulae* or *tituli triumphales* put up in the Capitol by victorious generals. If indeed we may trust Atilius Fortunatianus (p. 293 Keil), it was in these *tituli* that the Saturnian was most frequently employed. After saying that it was used *passim et sine cura*, he proceeds, *maxime tamen triumphaturi in Capitolio tabulas huiusmodi versibus incidebant.*

Had we, indeed, no other evidence bearing on the subject, we might safely have inferred that the Saturnian metre was widely employed in ancient Italy from the fact that it was used by Livius Andronicus in his translation of the Odyssey, and by Naevius in his great national poem on the Punic War. For it must be remembered that both Livius and Naevius were quite able and accustomed to write in Greek metres, and must therefore have adopted the Italian measure by choice, not of necessity. Even supposing that Livius, a *semi-graecus*¹, wrote his Odyssey in Saturnians as a *tour de force*, the same cannot be said of Naevius, who was notoriously anti-Hellenic in his tastes. It is inconceivable that a long Italian epic poem like the Punic War of Naevius should have been written without the foundation of a previously existing literature; the art of writing epics is not born in a day. But there is happily no need to have resort to conjecture. I have spoken already of the *tituli triumphales* written in Saturnians; of these it can hardly be doubted that Naevius must to a great extent have availed himself. Besides

¹ Suetonius de Grammaticis, i.

these there were the family memorials, which, whether in prose or poetry, perpetuated, not without much falsification and exaggeration, the tradition of the great deeds of the Romans of old. Such memorials, written in prose, existed in the time of Cicero (*Brutus*, 62 : *et hercule hae quidem extant : ipsae enim familiae sua quasi ornamenta et monumenta servabant, et ad usum, si quis eiusdem generis occidisset, et ad memoriam laudum domesticarum et ad inlustrandam nobilitatem suam*).

But it was also a custom of the ancient Romans to sing at their social gatherings ballads commemorative of the deeds of their ancestors¹. These ballads were performed sometimes by boys, sometimes by adults, with or without an accompaniment on the flute. Cato mentioned the custom as having existed some generations before his time, and in the age of Cicero both the practice and the ballads which it had called into existence had disappeared, perhaps owing to the influx of Greeks, Greek literature, and Greek fashions. There does not however seem to be sufficient reason for supposing that it had wholly died out in the time of Naevius. If it had not, yet another source of inspiration was open to him.

The *carmina* just mentioned must be carefully distinguished from the *neniae* or dirges sung at funerals. Of these Varro says (ap. Non. p. 145) that they were performed to the accompaniment of flutes and strings after the *praefica* had done her part in praising the dead. The custom must have continued until comparatively late times, for Cicero (*Legg.* 2. § 62) prescribes its continuance in his ideal republic, and Quintilian (8. 2. 8) speaks of the *nenia* as if it were still in use in his day.

¹ Cic. *Brutus*, 75, *utnam extarent illa carmina quae multis saeculis ante suam aetatem in epulis esse cantitata a singulis convivis de clarorum virorum laudibus in Originibus scriptum reliquit Cato*. Varro, ap. Non. p. 76, *in conviviiis pueri modesti ut cantarent carmina antiqua in quibus laudes erant maiorum, et assa voce et cum tibicine*. Cic. *Tusc.* 4. 3, *gravissimus auctor in Originibus dixit Cato, morem apud maiores hunc epularum fuisse, ut deinceps qui accubarent canerent ad tibiam clarorum virorum laudes atque virtutes*. Valerius Maximus, 2. 1. 10, *maiores natu in conviviiis ad tibias egregia superiorum opera carmine comprehensa pangebant, quo ad ea imitanda iuventutem alacriorem redderent*.

Our investigation, then, has so far led us to recognize a class of wise men or seers (*vates, fauni, carmentes*) the repositories of prophecy and religious song (*carmina*); of hymns to the gods; of a national Italian metre (*Saturnius versus*); of inscriptions in this metre put up by victorious generals; of ballads, presumably also in this metre, sung at banquets in commemoration of the ancient worthies; of family records in prose; and of *neniae* or dirges sung at funerals. Here surely was ample material for poets to work upon. I cannot doubt that much of what is most characteristic in Latin poetry and oratory had its root in these ancient *carmina* and *laudes funebres*. Of ballads and short commemorative pieces in the Saturnian metre there must have been a great number when Naevius, inspired by what were then the greatest events in Roman history, undertook to commemorate them in a national poem.

The Latin writers of the Ciceronian and Augustan ages are probably in great measure responsible for our entire ignorance of what may be called the pre-Hellenic period of Roman literature. Cicero himself indeed speaks with real respect both of Livius and of Naevius; but, not foreseeing how grateful the nineteenth century would have been to him had he supported his criticisms by quotation, he has not, as he has in the case of Ennius, cited a single passage from either. But others were less generous and appreciative than Cicero; and so rapid was the change in literary taste from generation to generation among the ancient Italians, that not merely Naevius and Livius, but the old comedians and tragedians dropped out of view in the first century after Christ, and in the last half of it even Cicero and Caesar were passing out of fashion. We are apt to forget how great was the revolution ushered in by Livius and Ennius. Naevius, who was a younger contemporary of Livius, and an eye-witness, as it were, of all his determined efforts in the direction of Hellenizing Italian metre and language, had reason enough for his bitter complaint that the Latins had forgotten their own language. New words, new ideas of accent and prosody, were straining the Latin language into a new mould.

If however Cicero could admire Naevius, if he could praise the purity of his Latin, and compare his *bellum Punicum*, for vigour, as we must suppose, and plenitude of life, to a work of Myron—*tamen eius quem in Faunis et vatibus adnumerat Ennius bellum Punicum tamquam opus aliquod Myronis delectat*—the poem must have been one of the greatest monuments of Italian literature. It must not be forgotten that the verdict of Cicero in literary matters has been found, whenever it has been possible to test it, to be in accord with that of the whole civilized world. Even a modern scholar might reasonably infer that the poet who wrote the two lines, *Sessequē ei perire mavolunt ibidem Quam cum stupro redire ad suos populares*, must have been capable of producing many other fine verses; and it is the misfortune, not the fault, of Naevius that the few fragments of his poem which remain are quoted, not for their poetical merit, but simply to illustrate points of grammar or lexicography.

Before considering the early Italian drama, it may be well to say a word on the musical instruments used in accompaniment to singing. The genuine Italian instrument was the *tibia*; the stringed instrument or *fides* was probably borrowed from the Greeks. The word *tibia* is purely Italian and has, so far as I can find, no parallel in the cognate languages. Its etymology however is to my mind uncertain, though modern scholars have no hesitation in connecting it with *stare* and make it mean the straight, upright bone or instrument. The importance attached from the earliest times to the *tibia* is shewn by the fact that the *tibicines* formed a privileged class. Livy, 9. 30. 5, *tibicines, quia prohibiti erant in aede Iovis vesci, quod traditum antiquitus erat, aegre passi Tibur uno agmine abierunt, adeo ut nemo esset qui sacrificiis praecineret. Tuba*, the trumpet used in war and at funerals, was equally an Italian, or at least a non-Hellenic instrument. The word has been connected by some with the German *du-del*, by others with the Sanskrit base *stu-*, to praise; whatever be the truth about its etymology, the word does not appear in Greek.

As the germs of Italian poetry and oratory were contained in the early compositions which have been mentioned, so the *versus fescennini*, the *satura*, and the *Atellana* formed the beginnings of a dramatic literature which the prejudices of the Roman nobility did not allow to develop¹. The main characteristic of the *versus Fescennini* was that they were employed originally, as Mr Munro has pointed out, for the purpose of averting the evil eye or the envy of the gods, on great occasions of supposed good-fortune, such as marriages or triumphs. They were sung or recited by alternate speakers; Livy, 7. 2. 6, speaks of the professional *histriones, qui non sicut ante Fescennino versu similem incompositum. ac rudem alternis iaciebant*, &c. So Horace, Epist. 2. 1. 145, *Fescennina per hunc inventa licentia morem Versibus alternis opprobria rustica fudit*: and Pliny, 19. 144, speaking of Caesar's soldiers at his triumph, *alternis quippe versibus exprobravere lapsana se vixisse apud Dyrrachium*.

About the origin of the word *Fescenninus* the ancient Italian scholars were themselves doubtful. Paulus, p. 85 (Müller), *fescennini versus qui canebantur in nuptiis ex urbe Fescennio dicuntur adlati, sive ideo dicti quia fascinum putabantur arcere*. The connection with *fascinum* is insisted upon and drawn out by Mr Munro in his admirable remarks on this subject (*Criticisms and Elucidations of Catullus*, pp. 76 foll.). To trace the links of connection is however not easy. The adjective *Fescenninus*, if not derived from Fescennium, implies a substantive *fescennus* or *fescennius*. This may perhaps be the word glossed by Paulus, p. 86, *fescennos dicti qui depellere fascinum putabantur*. Supposing the word in Paulus to have been *fescenni*, we should have a substantive *fescennus* meaning a charmer, or a person

¹ Cicero, de Rep. 4. § 11, *nunquam comoediae, nisi consuetudo vitae pareretur, probare sua theatris flagitia potuissent. Et Graeci quidem antiquiores vitiosae suae opinionis quandam convenientiam servaverunt, apud quos fuit etiam lege concessum ut quod vellet comoedia, de quo vellet, nominatim diceret . . . Patiamur, inquit, etsi eiusmodi cives a censore melius est quam a poeta notari . . . Iudiciis enim magistratuum ac disceptationibus legitimis propositam vitam, non poetarum ingeniiis, habere debemus.*

who had the power to avert the effects of a curse or of the evil eye. In form *fescennus* would offer an exact analogue to *Dossennus*, the conventional glutton of the *fabulae Atellanae*. There are traces of similar forms in the proper names *Cupiennius* and *Herennius*, which must be derived from lost forms *cupiennus* and *herennus*: is the ending *-ennus* the same as *-ēnus* in *Alfenus Misenum Capena habena harena avena*, &c.? If there was a substantive *fescennus*, *fescennus* and *fascinum* would be parallel forms, both to be referred ultimately to *fas*, a saying. *Fascinum* would mean originally the word, then the thing used as a charm: *fescennus*, a charmer, or one who has power over the *fascinum*; *fescennini versus*, the verses used by charmers.

It is curious that the fescennine verses which have come down to us are not in the Saturnian but in the trochaic metre. *De Germanis non de Gallis duo triumphant consules: Urbani, servate uxores, moechum calvum adducimus*¹, and so on. The cretic was called *pes Fescenninus* by Diomedes², which may perhaps shew that the Fescennine verse could also be formed of cretics (— ∪ — | — ∪ — || — ∪ — | — ∪ — ||). Supposing the line to have strictly consisted of eight trochees and a half, and that the short syllable of every alternate trochee were omitted, we should have four cretics. And this abbreviation may easily have taken place in a metre based originally on accent, not on quantity. Was the trochaic of the *Fescennini* borrowed from the Greek through the medium of the stage and then adapted to the Latin accent, or was it a native Italian metre? I do not know that we have any evidence to decide the question.

The *versus Fescennini* represent the most primitive stage of the old Italian drama. The merry banter of alternate speakers would afford the element from which a dialogue might in course of time be developed. The next stage is represented by the *satura*, which is described by Livy as resembling the fescennine verses in its oldest form; but as having been

¹ Suetonius, Julius, 51; comp. ib. 80.

² P. 479 Keil.

developed into a more artistic composition with musical accompaniment.

The word *satura* undoubtedly means a medley; at least this is the almost unanimous theory of the ancient Italian scholars. As applied to a law, the term implied that the law consisted of various provisions. Paulus, p. 314, *satura...lex multis aliis legibus conferta*: Diomedes, p. 485 Keil, *lege satura quae uno rogatu multa simul comprehendat*: Isidore, 5. 16, *satura vero lex quae de pluribus simul rebus eloquitur*. And *per saturam* was a common phrase in Roman political life for anything, as the passing of a law, or the election of an officer, done in confusion with other things when it ought to have been done separately. Festus, p. 314, quotes from the ancient orators T. Annius Luscus and C. Laelius, *imperium quod plebes per saturam dederat, id abrogatum est: postero die quasi per saturam sententiis latis*, and other instances will be found in the lexicons.

In its literary application two senses of the word *satura* must, I think, be distinguished. The ancient authorities sometimes explain it as meaning a composition which treats of a number of miscellaneous subjects (Festus, p. 314; Isidore, 8.7.8; Acron on Horace S. 1. 1. 1): sometimes as a composition written in various metres (Diomedes, p. 485; Isidore, 5. 16). The word would no doubt, in many cases, be applicable in both senses; but I think it is plain that the original idea was that of a composition of miscellaneous contents. It could only be after a considerable knowledge of Greek metres had been acquired at Rome that the writers of *saturae* would be able to compose in several metres; but there is no doubt that the *satura* had existed long before this time. Again, the transition of meaning is more intelligible on this hypothesis. All the ancient authorities incline to the theory that *satura* meant originally a dish full of various ingredients, a basket of various fruits, or a forced-meat of various materials; Festus and Varro quoted by Diomedes, ll. cc.; Isidore, 20. 2. 8. So Juvenal, with a full sense of the literal and metaphorical applications of the

word, says *quicquid agunt homines, votum timor ira voluptas Gaudia discursus nostri est farrago libelli*. And there are one or two other passages in the literature of the classical times which seem to recall this sense of the word *satura*: Sisenna¹ quoted in the Scholia to Juvenal, 4. 2, says *non dignus in quem debeam saturam calentem . . . ingerere*: and when Juvenal in this place says *Crispinus . . . est mihi saepe vocandus Ad partes* it is possible, as the scholia suggest, that *partes* means *partes convivii*.

The *satura* then was originally a rude kind of drama of miscellaneous contents, distinguished from a *fabula* by having no plot: Livy, l. c., *Livius . . . qui primus ab saturis ausus est argumento fabulam serere*. As its contents were miscellaneous it may fairly be inferred that it contained personations of various characters, and Livy implies that more than one actor might take a part in it. When the Hellenizing poets introduced the fashion of writing in Greek metres, and the *satura*, having ceased to be an acted drama, became a literary work with only an imaginary stage, it may of course have easily happened that the variety of metres, or the interchange of prose and verse, which characterized the classical *satura* in the hands of Ennius and Varro, was adapted to the variety of parts in the dialogue, as to a certain extent is actually the case in Petronius.

I have elsewhere² endeavoured to shew how the *satura*, as we know it in literature, still preserves some of the essential features of its primitive form. Passing then over this point, let me say a few words on the original character of the *Atellanae*. I am not sure that Mommsen is right in denying that these pieces were originally Campanian; for it must be remembered

¹ Sesenus, lib. II, *non dignus &c.* If *Sesenus* stands for Sisenna, we may compare Vita Persii, p. 241 Jahn: *satirae proprium est ut vera humiliter dicat, et omnia cum sanna faciat, quam Sisenna protulerat poeta*. Did Sisenna, then, write *saturae*? In the words of the *Vita Persii* which follow almost immediately, *satira genus est clarni vel lancis multis ac variis frugum generibus plena*, we should perhaps read *cinni* for *clarni*: see Nonius, p. 59, *cinnus est commixtio plurimorum*.

² *The Roman Satura*: Oxford, 1878.

that Campania was the nurse of arts and literature at least as early as Latium. The epitaph which Naevius wrote for himself is characterized by Gellius as *plenum superbiae Campanae*¹. However this may be, the *Atellana* was distinguished by the constant exhibition of certain conventional characters, *Maccus* the fool, *Pappus* the old father, *Dossennus* or *manducus* the glutton, *Bucco* fatchaps, to which may be added (from the surviving titles of *Atellanae*) *Bubulcus*, *Decuma*, *Fullo*, and perhaps *Mania*. The actors were free men in masks: Festus, p. 217, *per Atellanos qui proprie vocantur personati, quia ius est iis in scena non cogi ponere personam, quod ceteris personis pati necesse est*: Livy, 7. 2. 12, *quod genus ludorum ab Oscis acceptum tenuit iuventus, nec ab histrionibus pollui passa est*.

If we may judge by the titles of the *Atellanae* of Pomponius and Novius, the conventional characters appeared in various comical situations, like the old German *Hans*. Thus we have *Bucco auctoratus*, *Bucco adoptatus*, *Bubulcus*, *Bubulcus cerdo*; *Decuma*, *Decuma fullonis*; *Fullones*, *Fullones feriat*; *Macci gemini*, *Maccus Miles*, *Maccus sequester*, *Maccus virgo*, *Maccus Copo*; *Maccus exul*; *Mania medica*; *Pappus agricola*, *Pappus praeteritus*, *Sponsa Pappi*; *Verres aegrotus*, *Verres salvus*. *Maccus* the fool appears, not unnaturally, to have absorbed the lion's share.

Another conventional characteristic of the *Atellana* seems to have been the prevalence in it of riddles or puzzles: Quintilian 6. 3. 47, *amphiboila, neque ea obscura quae Atellani ex more captant*, where I see no occasion for reading *obscena* with Teuffel. For the reading of the manuscripts, *obscura*, is supported by the phrase *tricae Atellanae*, the knots or riddles of an *Atellana*: Varro in his Gerontodidascalus ap. Non. p. 8, *putas eos non citius tricas Atellanas quam id extricatuos?* Arnobius, 5. 28, *tricas quemadmodum dicitur conductuplicare Atellanas*. Instances of these *tricae* are preserved or alluded to by Suetonius: Caligula, 27, *Atellanae poetam ob ambigui ioci versiculum media amphitheatri*

¹ I. 24. 1: probably from Varro.

harena igni cremavit: Nero, 39, *Datus Atellanarum histrio in cantico quodam* Ὑγίαυε πατέρ, ὕγίαυε μητέρ, *ita demonstraverat, ut bibentem nalantemque faceret, exitum scilicet Claudii Agrippinaeque significans, et in novissima clausula, 'Orcus vobis ducit pedes,' senatum gestu notaret.*

The results of this investigation may be shortly summed up as follows:

The Italians appear to have developed the elements of their national literature independently on Italian soil. Their general expression for a literary or religious utterance (*carmen*) they share, not with the Greeks, but with the ancient Indians. Their general expression for a singer (*vates*) they share, not with the Greeks, but with the Celts. The words *Fauni* and *Carmentes* were perhaps originally the names of a class or caste who composed the *carmina*. The national Italian or Saturnian metre is much more nearly akin to the Teutonic-ballad metre than to the Greek hexameter. The germs of a national epic existed in family memorials, ballads sung at convivial meetings, and funeral dirges, while the elements of an Italian drama are to be found in the *satura*, the *versus fescennini*, and the *Atellana*.

IV.

ON THE PRO CLUENTIO OF CICERO.

(*Journal of Philology*, No. 16.)

I. *The motive of Cicero's professed change of opinion.*

CICERO himself, according to Quintilian, 2. 17. 21, said that in the defence of Cluentius he had thrown dust in the eyes of the judges; and as eight years before the delivery of the speech he had appeared as a strong advocate of the attack on the senatorial *iudicia* which followed the *iudicium Iunianum*, there can be no doubt that he really believed throughout that the agitation of 74 B. C. was justified by the facts of the case. I do not know whether any attempt has been made to explain his professed change of opinion. In the following remarks I hope to make it probable that political considerations had a great deal to do with the matter. Cicero has been too hastily charged with inconsistency in the earlier part of his career. A careful examination of the facts will shew, I think, that there was a method in his changes. His politics are those of the *ordo equester*, whose interests he, as himself belonging to it, naturally made his own. The death of Sulla in 78 B. C. gave to this important body the hope of recovering something of the position which they had held from the time of the Gracchan to that of the Sullan constitution; and in 74 B. C. an opening was given them (in the corruption of the senatorial *iudicia*) for an attack on the dominant position of the senate. The scandal of the *iudicium Iunianum* was turned to good account by the tribune Publius Quinctius, and although the tumult was laid for a time, only four years elapsed before the *iudicia* changed hands. The

attack of Cicero on Verres was in reality the attack of the *equites* on the senate; the consulship of Pompeius and Crassus, in the year 70, sealed the triumph of the *equites*. Their interests were now and for some years afterwards represented by Pompeius, with whose cause we find accordingly that Cicero for some time identifies himself.

But the *equites* with their champion Pompeius were by no means safe either against the jealousy of the nobility or the attacks of the democratic party. The bad case of Fonteius, defended by Cicero so soon after the attack upon Verres, may merely shew that the orator was willing to defend any Roman official against the complaints of barbarous provincials; but it must not be forgotten that the accused was a friend of Pompeius, and that to have deserted him would very probably have been to Cicero a desertion of his own political colours. Moreover it would appear that Fonteius was supported by Roman merchants and men of business, who presumably belonged to the equestrian order. Of the interests of these men Cicero is evidently very tender. The attack on Fonteius may perhaps, therefore, be taken as in some sense an attack on the *equites*. There are signs also that in the years between the first consulship of Pompeius and Crassus and the first triumvirate (70-59 B. C.) attempts were made to extend to the equestrian order the action of the *leges Corneliae*, which as they stood applied only to senators. Much of the motive of Cicero's defence of Cluentius in 66 B. C. is, I think, revealed in an instructive passage, §§ 143-160:—

‘I will not,’ he says, ‘argue that the equestrian order is not bound by the provisions of the *lex Cornelia* in this matter. I should have done so but for the generosity of my client, who would not allow it. If, as Attius says, it is shameful that an *eques* should be able to offend where a senator may not, I answer that it is a far more serious matter to depart from the letter of the *leges*. Attius would himself complain if any one were to attempt to bring him, a mere *eques*, under the provisions of *lex Cornelia repetundarum*. Observe that the *lex Cornelia de*

veneficiis, in the section relative to poisoning, includes all orders in liability to punishment: while in the section relative to conspiracy for procuring the condemnation of an innocent person it includes only certain high functionaries. Cluentius is not one of these high functionaries; yet he refuses to take advantage of the *lex*. I follow his instructions in the matter, although I do not approve of them.

‘Attius may think it unfair that all orders are not alike included under the same *lex*. But surely the case of a senator is different from that of an *eques*; the former has greater privileges, and therefore ought to have greater responsibilities. The law under which we are now acting here—*ne quis iudicio circumveniretur*—was passed by Gaius Gracchus, and in the interest, not against the interest, of the *plebs*. When Sulla came into power and took over this *lex* with its provisions into his own *lex*, he still did not venture to extend its provisions beyond the class of high functionaries, although his hatred of the equestrian order would have made him willing enough to do so. The fact is that an attempt is being now made to include the equestrian order in the provisions of the *lex Cornelia*. Only, be it observed, by a few factious individuals, who wish to separate the interests of the *equites* from those of the senate, and who are using this engine to terrify the *equites*. Seeing how much the verdicts of the equestrian order are respected, they wish to take the sting out of them by making it impossible for an *eques* to give a fearless vote. Remember how the *equites* resisted Livius Drusus when he tried to bring the *iudices* of their order within the reach of a *quaestio* of this kind. They argued rightly that, as they had renounced the honours and advantages of public life, so they ought to be relieved from its responsibilities.’

From this passage it would appear that the clause of the *lex Cornelia de sicariis et veneficiis*, under which Cluentius was now accused, did not technically apply to the equestrian order. That clause referred not to murder, but to the procuring, by corrupt means, the condemnation of an innocent man. It is difficult in the absence of any thing like full and direct evidence

to ascertain the exact state of the law with perfect clearness. Cluentius was being tried under a clause of the *lex Cornelia*: yet Cicero says, § 154, *illi (equites) non hoc recusabant ea ne lege accusarentur qua nunc Habitus accusatur, quae tunc erat Sempronia, nunc est Cornelia*: and again, § 151, *hanc ipsam legem 'ne quis iudicio circumveniretur,' C. Gracchus tulit*. I infer from these passages that the clause against conspiracy in the *lex Cornelia* was taken over from a *lex* of Gaius Gracchus referring to the same point. Again, if Cicero may be trusted, this *lex* of C. Gracchus did not apply to the equestrian order. § 154, *illi enim non hoc recusabant, ea ne lege accusarentur qua nunc Habitus accusatur, quae tunc erat Sempronia, nunc est Cornelia, intellegebant enim ea lege equestrem ordinem non teneri*. The inference would apparently be that the *lex* of C. Gracchus was an enactment against conspiracy on the part of persons in high office to procure the corrupt condemnation of innocent men. And this supposition would agree with Cicero's language § 151, *eam legem pro plebe, non in plebem tulit*.

I do not think that the Sempronian law in question can be identical with that quoted in the Pro Rabirio Perd. § 12: *ne de capite civium Romanorum iniussu vestro iudicaretur*. The wording of the titles is entirely different: *iudicio circumvenire* must surely mean to set a judicial process in motion in order to compass a person's ruin; a provision *ne de capite civium iniussu populi iudicaretur* would be intended to prevent a special *quaestio* or *iudicium* being set up without the consent of the people in their *comitia*.

The *lex* of C. Gracchus not applying to the equestrian *iudices* whom he created, but only to the nobility, had therefore nothing to do with his *leges iudiciariae*: and in consequence it was of no assistance to Livius Drusus when he proposed to transfer the *iudicia* to his newly constituted senate. The great obstacle in the way of the reforms of this statesman was the determined opposition of the *equites*: Appian, B. C. 1. 35, *τὴν τε βουλὴν καὶ τοὺς ἰππέας, οἱ μάλιστα δὴ τότε ἀλλήλοις διὰ τὰ δικαστήρια διεφέροντο, ἐπὶ κοινῷ νόμῳ συναγαγεῖν ἐπειράτο, σαφῶς μὲν οὐ δυνάμενος ἐς τὴν*

βουλὴν ἐπανευγκεῖν τὰ δικαστήρια, τεχνάζων δ' ἐς ἑκατέρους ᾧδε. τῶν βουλευτῶν διὰ τὰς στάσεις τότε ὄντων μόλις ἀμφὶ τοὺς τριακοσίους, ἑτέρους τοσοῦσδε αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν ἰππέων ἐσηγεῖτο ἀριστίνδην προσκαταλεγήναι, καὶ ἐκ τῶνδε πάντων ἐς τὸ μέλλον εἶναι τὰ δικαστήρια. εὐθύνας τε ἐπ' αὐτῶν γίγνεσθαι δωροδοκίας προσέγραφεν, ἐγκλήματος ἴσα δὴ καὶ ἀγνοουμένου διὰ τὸ ἔθος τῆς δωροδοκίας ἀνέδην ἐπιπολαζούσης. Drusus then added to his *lex iudiciaria* a clause, both retrospective and prospective as it would appear, creating a new *quaestio* to deal with cases of judicial corruption. The measure was vehemently opposed by the corrupt *ordo equester*, and naturally enough, for as retrospective it threatened the peace of those who had already offended, evidently a very numerous class; as prospective it would include all those members of the order who under the *lex Livia* should be from time to time drafted into the senate. *O viros fortes*, says Cicero, Cluent. § 153, *equites Romanos, qui homini clarissimo ac potentissimo M. Druso tribuno plebis restiterunt, cum ille nihil aliud ageret cum illa cuncta quae tum erat nobilitate, nisi uti qui rem iudicassent huiuscemodi quaestionibus in iudicium vocarentur . . . Ne nova lege alligarentur, laborabant.* Pro Rabir. Post. § 16, *potentissimo et nobilissimo tribuno plebis M. Druso, novam in equestrem ordinem quaestionem ferenti 'si quis ob rem iudicandam pecuniam cepisset,' aperte equites Romani restiterunt.*

Whether the *lex Plotia iudiciaria*, brought forward during the Civil War, contained any clause against conspiracy to procure a corrupt verdict is not known: that such a clause, taken from the *lex* of C. Gracchus *ne quis iudicio circumveniretur*, was added by Sulla to his *lex de sicariis et veneficiis*, we have already seen: but there is no sign that the matter was seriously taken up by the authors of the new revolution in the *iudicia* brought about by the *lex Aurelia* of 70 B.C. This *lex*, which restored to the *equites* some of their old influence in the law-courts, does not seem to have increased their liabilities. Thus the law with regard to conspiracy for procuring a corrupt verdict was in the year 66 B.C.—the date of our speech—in an anomalous state. Any one, not being one of the high

functionaries named in the *lex Cornelia*, who should enter into such a conspiracy, was technically safe as against the provisions of that *lex*. The enemies of the unjust privileges of the equestrian order had no intention of letting matters rest in this position; they made efforts to bring the *equites* under those provisions of the *leges Corneliae* from which they had previously been exempted. The case of Oppius seems, from what little evidence remains on the subject, to have been similar in this respect to that of Cluentius. Cicero's speech in defence of Oppius is generally assigned to a time not earlier than three years, and perhaps not more than two or even one, before the year of the *pro Cluentio*. According to Quintilian, 5. 13. 21, Cicero made an appeal to the *iudices* on behalf of his order of precisely the same character as that which he made in the *pro Cluentio*. *Pro Oppio monet pluribus ne illud actionis genus in equestrem ordinem admittant*. Perhaps Oppius was accused under the *lex Cornelia repetundarum*, which like the *lex Iulia* on the same subject, afterwards only applied, technically, to high officials: Rab. Post. § 11, *sed est arreptus (Postumus) unus eques Romanus de pecuniis repetundis reus*.

I think therefore that Cicero's attitude in the *pro Cluentio* may be explained by the altered position of the equestrian order. Eight years before, in 74 B.C., they were excluded from the *iudicia*, and were therefore willing enough to take any opportunity of attacking the exclusive privileges of the senate. The unjust condemnation of Oppianicus gave them such an opportunity. But the same facts wore a different complexion in the eyes of the *equites* in 66 B.C. To attack the officials who had taken part in the *iudicium Iunianum* in 74 was one thing: it was quite another thing to use the case of Cluentius eight years afterwards as a precedent for bringing the *equites* under the provisions of the conspiracy clause in the *lex Cornelia de sicariis*.

The position taken up by Cicero in the *pro Oppio* and the *pro Cluentio* is well illustrated by his action in the case of Rabirius Postumus twelve years later. Rabirius was a simple

eques, who was charged with having received part of the money unlawfully taken from Ptolemy by Gabinius as the price of restoration to his kingdom. Cicero contends that the *lex Iulia de repetundis*, like the *lex Cornelia* and the *lex Servilia*, applied only to the holders of certain high offices (§§ 13-18). Compare Cluent. § 148. Turning to the *equites* on the bench he adds, *scitis me ortum e vobis omnia semper sensitisse pro vobis ; nihil horum sine magna cura et summa caritate vestri ordinis loquor. Alius alios homines et ordines, ego vos semper complexus sum.*

II.

Analysis and examination of Cicero's present account of the iudicium Iunianum and its consequences.

§§ 66-116.

§§ 66-76. 'Oppianicus,' says Cicero, 'frightened by the condemnation of Scamander, had recourse to Staienus, as a man who had already (76 B.C.) taken six hundred *sestertia* from a *pupillus* in the case of Safinius Atella, and then kept it himself. He encourages Oppianicus to give him 640 *sestertia*; then determines to keep the money and let Oppianicus be condemned. His method of proceeding is to promise, but not to give, the money to some of the most worthless of the *iudices*, thus rendering them hostile to Oppianicus. When Bulbus, one of these *iudices*, asks him for it, he says that Oppianicus had played him false, and that he accordingly meant to vote *guilty*. Some suspicion arising in court on the matter, Cannutius, the accuser of Oppianicus, suddenly gets the *iudex quaestionis* to declare the argument at an end: Staienus, who happened to be absent and engaged in a private case, is brought back into court by Oppianicus and Quinctius his advocate. In the open voting which followed, Bulbus, Staienus, and Gutta at once vote *guilty*. (There were only a few corrupt *iudices* on the bench, but all of these were incensed against Oppianicus: *nummarii pauci sed omnes irati*). Some prudent men, namely (see § 107) Octavius

Balbus, Q. Considius, M. Iuventius Pedo, L. Cauius Mergus, M. Basilius, C. Caudinus, L. Cassius, Cn. Heius, P. Saturius (nine in all), say in the *prima actio*, *not-proven*; five vote *not-guilty*, the rest (eighteen in all) vote *guilty*, some because they were bribed, some because, in spite of the corruption of these others, they thought it their duty to stand by their former verdicts given in the *præiudicia*.'

On this it seems natural to observe that the account of the conduct of Staienus towards Oppianicus, Bulbus and Gutta is exceedingly strained and unnatural, and hardly to be accepted without further warrant than the mere statement of Cicero. But supposing Staienus and the rest to have been also bribed by Cluentius, all becomes plain. As to Cannutius, the accuser of Oppianicus, suddenly declaring the argument at an end, the fact can very well be explained by supposing that he was in league with the *iudex quaestionis* to procure the condemnation of his adversary. The conduct of Staienus in voting *condemno* is far more simply accounted for by Cicero himself, Verr. Act. 1. § 39, *quod inventus est senator qui cum iudex esset, in eodem iudicio et ab reo pecuniam acciperet quam iudicibus divideret, et ab accusatore ut reum condemnaret*. It is clear from this passage that in the general opinion at least there had been bribery on both sides. Cicero observes in § 83 that it was Cluentius and Cannutius who allowed Staienus to go out of court, Oppianicus and his advocate who wanted him and brought him back again; and that the vote of Staienus was explained by the fact that he wished to convince Bulbus and the rest that Oppianicus had failed him. This really proves nothing. Supposing it true that Staienus was brought back, not by Cluentius, but by Oppianicus, all that need be supposed is either that Cluentius and his friends thought Staienus's absence immaterial, his money having been promised to a sufficient number of *iudices*; or that they feared the counter-efforts of Oppianicus, and had begun to distrust Staienus in the matter. Oppianicus on the other hand may either have been ignorant of the bribery practised by Cluentius, or, if he knew of it, he may have thought

that his own counter-efforts had influenced Staienus in his favour.

On Cicero's account of the way in which the various *iudices* voted it may be remarked that it is not absolutely consistent with a sentence in the *pro Caecina*, § 29. There were thirty-two *iudices*: according to Cicero in the *pro Cluentio* five voted *not-guilty* and nine (§ 107) *not-proven*: eighteen therefore must, according to this statement, have voted *guilty*. Had Staienus been absent Oppianicus would thus have been condemned by a majority of 17 to 14. But in the *pro Caecina* we are told that Fidiculanus Falcula was in a hurry to give his vote *guilty* because it was necessary to make up the majority: *cum si uno minus damnarent, condemnari reus non posset, non ad cognoscendam causam, sed ad explendam damnationem praesto fuisse*. Is Cicero simply forgetful, or is he in the *pro Cluentio* purposely exaggerating the numbers of the *iudices* who voted *guilty*? Certainly, if his earlier account in the *pro Caecina* be correct, there was motive enough for Oppianicus and his friends to send out of court for Staienus. One vote might have made all the difference.

Cicero's argument from § 77-82 proceeds as follows: 'The occasion was at once seized on by the tribune Quinctius as a means of attacking the senatorial tribunals. Staienus met Oppianicus at the house of T. Annius, and promised to restore him the money; some respectable individuals overheard the interview, the money was found in Staienus's possession, and he was forced to disgorge it. The populace had and could have no idea that Staienus had in reality taken the money to vote *not-guilty*, and then kept it back; all that they saw was that Staienus had voted *guilty*, and from their knowledge of his character they supposed that his vote was not given *gratis*. So with Bulbus, Gutta and others. Nor again did they know the character of Oppianicus. All this, aided by the fiery agitation of Quinctius, raised such a strong popular feeling, that Iunius was clamoured out of his expected praetorship, and finally driven into exile. At that time so strong was the excitement

that no one saying what I am now saying would have had a chance of a hearing: at the present time, on the contrary, all is quiet, and men will listen to the voice of reason. What are the real facts? All agree that there was bribery somewhere. The prosecutor pleads "I had very serious charges to bring; my adversary had already been as good as condemned in two *præiudicia*; had he been acquitted, I had nothing to fear." The defendant replies, "My conscience made me afraid; I had been as good as condemned twice already; I had everything to fear from an adverse verdict." If, again, you will examine Cluentius's accounts, you will find that he has kept them carefully; this matter has now been sifted and discussed for a period of eight years. No trace of any corrupt expenditure can be found in Cluentius's books; whereas at the house of Staienus there were found 640 *sestertia*.'

On this it may be remarked that the interview of Oppianicus with Staienus has nothing to do with the question. There was no doubt that Staienus had received money from Oppianicus, and under the circumstances it was very natural that Oppianicus should wish for an interview with his treacherous friend. Oppianicus may have gone to the house of Annius to convict Staienus, and the *viri boni* may have been there to detect him in Oppianicus's interest. The remark about the account-books of Cluentius may be dismissed as unworthy of serious consideration. The only strong point in Cicero's case seems to be the condemnation of the accessories to the supposed guilt of Oppianicus in two *præiudicia*: yet how can we be sure that there was no foul play in these cases? Cicero had himself defended Scamander: and Quintilian, II. I. 74, justly observes, *difficilior ei ratio in iudicio Cluentiano fuit, cum Scamandrum necesse haberet dicere nocentem, cuius egerat causam*.

§§ 84-88. 'But, you say, granting that Oppianicus gave the money, it was not to bribe the jury but to effect a compromise. I am surprised at so foolish an argument being used at this time of day; Staienus naturally said this at the time, perhaps on the advice of his advocate Cethegus; but the plea was

laughed down; no compromise was possible between two such enemies; there was no chance on the one hand of Oppianicus escaping by the setting up of a man of straw to accuse him (*elabi alio accusatore*), nor on the other hand could Cluentius abandon the case without incurring the odium of *calumnia*.

‘Again, it may be said that Oppianicus was trying to arrange a *praevaricatio*, and therefore offered the money to Staienus. In that case, why should he have gone to a *iudex* as *sequester* and not rather to some respectable friend? But in fact this argument requires no answer: for the sum of 640 *sestertia* found at the house of Annius speaks for itself: 16 *iudices*, to receive 40 *sestertia* apiece.’

There is no antecedent improbability that the money was offered *conciliandae gratiae causa*, for the sake of effecting a compromise: none again that Oppianicus was trying to arrange a *praevaricatio*. Cicero here merely trifles with his opponent’s statement; and, as to the number of 640 *sestertia*, how do we know that that was all the money that was offered to Staienus?

§§ 88–96. ‘I now come to the many *iudicia* which were brought to bear upon this case.

(1) ‘The condemnation of the *iudex quaestionis* C. Iunius. No time was allowed him by the tribune Quinctius; he was hurried off to trial without mercy. According to the general opinion, the reason for this was that he had corruptly procured the condemnation of an innocent man. In that case I say that he ought to have been accused under the *lex Cornelia de sicariis*. If this was on technical grounds impossible, Quinctius might have waited a few days: but this he would not do for fear of losing the flood-tide of popular feeling. He preferred to take formal grounds; asked for a *multa* because Iunius had omitted to take his oath of office, and because there was some irregularity about a *subsortitio*. Trivial grounds enough, shewing that Iunius was condemned not on the merits of the case, but owing to the accident of the time and circumstances (*non causa sed tempore*). And what has his case to do with that of Cluentius? Iunius, you virtually say, was condemned under

one *lex* because he had offended against another. How can you call that a *iudicium*? It was all due to popular excitement, fanned by the employment of that dangerous engine the *tribunicia potestas*.'

The answer to this argument would be, I suppose, that it was easier and more convenient to attack Iunius on formal grounds, and that in fact this method of attack proved perfectly effective, for Iunius was never able to take part in public life from the time of his condemnation.

(2) §§ 97-103. 'Bulbus,' you say, 'was condemned. He was, but it was on a trial for *maiestas*. You will argue that it was his conduct in the *iudicium Iunianum* which did him most harm in the eyes of his *iudices*. This, I reply, is merely your inference.

(3) 'You urge the condemnation of P. Popillius and Ti. Gutta. But these men were condemned not for tampering with *iudices* but for *ambitus*, for their accusers were men who had themselves been condemned on a charge of *ambitus* and had subsequently turned king's evidence. These accusers were restored to their civil rights as a reward for their conduct; but their restoration was, I maintain, due to the fact that they had informed against Popillius and Gutta, not for taking bribes, but for *ambitus*. Their case then, being a case of *ambitus*, has nothing to do with that of Cluentius.

(4) 'Staienus was found guilty: yes, of *maiestas*. All that I will say here is that the plea which he then used, that the money was offered him for the purpose of effecting a compromise, met at that time with a very different reception from that which is now accorded to it: it was in fact laughed down; in spite of it Staienus was found guilty, and the Cominii, taking the same ground as I am taking, gained their point. I have shewn that if Oppianicus was guilty of bribery, Cluentius was not, and *vice versa*. But there is no trace of any corrupt act on the part of Cluentius: it is clear then that the condemnation of Staienus is all in favour of my client.

(5) § 103 foll. 'Fiducianius Falcula was accused mainly

on the ground that he had sat on the bench as a substitute, and had only heard part of the case. First his enemies tried to get him fined because he had acted as a *iudex* out of his own *decuria* and in violation of the *lex* by which the proceedings of the *quaestio* were regulated. In the first *actio* he was easily acquitted: but subsequently he was in due form accused under the *lex repetundarum*, and acquitted; the *iudices* holding it sufficient that a *iudex* should be acquainted with the *praeiudicia* bearing on the case.

§§ 113, 114. 'You who quote *iudicia*, what do you make of the acquittal of Fidiculanus Falcula? It is not to the point to collect instances of men who were condemned for *ambitus*, who ought rather to have been tried by the *quaestio repetundarum*.'

From this passage it would appear that several of the *quaestiones* were set in motion for the purpose of reaching various persons who had been implicated in the scandal of the *iudicium Iunianum*. Bulbus was prosecuted and found guilty by the *quaestio maiestatis*; P. Popillius and Ti. Gutta by the *quaestio ambitus*: others by the *quaestio peculatus*: Verr. Act. 1. § 39, *quod in C. Herennio, quod in C. Popillio, qui ambo peculatus damnati sunt... hoc planum factum est, eos pecuniam ob rem iudicandam accepisse*. The only two *quaestiones* under which their cases could technically have come would seem to have been the *quaestio de sicariis* and *repetundarum*. The *lex de sicariis* contained, as we have seen, a clause against conspiracy to procure a corrupt verdict: the *lex repetundarum* must, if Cicero's argument here can be trusted (and there seems no reason in this case for distrusting it), have contained clauses against a *iudex* receiving a bribe, such as appear later in the *lex Iulia repetundarum*; Dig. 48. 11. 7, *lex Iulia de repetundis praecipit ne quis ob iudicem arbitrumve dandum mutandum iubendumve ut iudicet, neve ob non dandum non mutandum non iubendum ut iudicet... neve quis ob hominem condemnandum absolvendumve, neve ob litem aestimandam, iudiciumve capitis pecuniaeve faciendum vel non faciendum aliquid acceperit*.

Fidiculanus Falcula seems to have been prosecuted and

acquitted under the *lex repetundarum*. It is not clear how the trials of the others under the *quaestiones ambitus*, *peculatus*, and *maiestatis* were made to bear on the question of judicial corruption. We have Cicero's own admission, or very nearly his own admission, that though Bulbus was accused under the *lex maiestatis*, it was his conduct in the matter of the *iudicium Iunianum* that prejudiced his case more than anything else. What is exactly meant by this is not clear; whether for instance it was the statements of witnesses during the course of the trial that brought out these damaging facts. Nor is it indeed plain why, when these men might have been legally tried either by the *quaestio de sicariis* or by the *quaestio repetundarum*, their cases should have been brought before the other *quaestiones*. It is manifest however that in the Roman usage of this epoch a man might be prosecuted under one *lex*, and condemned partly in consequence of the revelations of misdeeds which would properly have brought him under another. Thus Cicero says with regard to the *iudicium Iunianum*, Verr. Act. I. § 37, *quod in C. Herennio, quod in C. Popillio, qui ambo peculatus damnati sunt, quod in M. Atilio qui de maiestate damnatus est, hoc planum factum est, eos pecuniam ob rem iudicandam accepisse.*

In § 98 Cicero lays stress upon the fact that P. Popillius (not to be confused with the C. Popillius of Verr. I. c.) and Ti. Gutta were condemned for *ambitus*, and proceeds to observe that their accusers were men who had themselves been condemned for *ambitus*. The thread of the reasoning in the text of our oration is not very clear: *qui causam de ambitu dixerunt, qui accusati sunt ab iis, &c.* The gist of the argument as given by Quintilian, 5. 10. 108, is as follows: *Cicero pro Cluentio P. Popillum et Ti. Guttam dicit non iudicii corrupti sed ambitus esse damnatos. Quid signi? quod accusatores eorum qui erant ipsi ambitus damnati, e lege sint post hanc victoriam restituti.* They must have been condemned not for tampering with *iudices* but for *ambitus*, because their accusers, who had themselves been condemned for *ambitus*, were subsequently restored to

their civil rights. Cicero does not put the case exactly in this way, but says that these accusers, who had been condemned for *ambitus*, were in his opinion restored to their civil rights, not because they had revealed a case of judicial corruption, but because they had publicly shewn their disapproval¹ of an offence similar to their own, namely *ambitus*. Some link is required between the clauses *qui causam de ambitu dixerunt* and *qui accusati sunt*, &c. Taking into consideration the passage in Quintilian, I would suggest the possibility that the second clause began with *quia*, not with *qui*, and that between the two clauses some words have been lost. *Qui causam de ambitu dixerunt [non de iudicio corrupto] quia accusati sunt*, &c.

The argument of these sections is worth very little. The fact that some of these offenders were accused under *leges* not strictly pertinent to their offence is technically in Cicero's favour: but only technically. Cicero had himself, eight years before (*Verr. Act.* 1, § 37), used the very same argument which he now tries to parry when employed against him. The fallacy of the dilemma (§ 102) 'either Cluentius or Oppianicus must have been guilty of bribery, and if one, not the other,' need not be pointed out. With regard to Fidiculanus Falcula, it is sufficient to refer to the *pro Caecina*, § 29.

§ 115. 'You say that damages were assessed against P. Septimius Scaevola on the count of his having received money for his judicial vote (*litem eo nomine esse aestimatam*). I need hardly remind you that a *litis aestimatio* is not a *iudicium*. It often happens that after a man is found guilty, his judges think that he is thereby made their enemy, and therefore (lest they should give the impression of acting under the influence of personal feeling²?) refuse to admit an assessment which involves

¹ *Reprehendere* is apparently used here as in *Pro Fonteio*, § 3, *atqui homines, si qui [tenentur] hoc genere quaestionis, accusatos et reprehensos videmus primum testibus*.

² Quintilian, 4. 1. 18, *est etiam nonnunquam pravis hic ambitus, adversus amicos aut pro iis, quibuscum simullates gerant, pronuntiandi, faciendique iniuste, ne fecisse videantur*.

his civil *status* (*litem capitis*). Or it may happen that they think that having once done their duty, they need not trouble much about the further proceeding of the *litis aestimatio*. And so it often happens that when a man is found guilty *de pecuniis repetundis*, and an assessment involving the offence of *maiestas* is entered against him, he is acquitted on the charge of *maiestas*. Again, in cases of *repetundae*, persons who are mentioned in the *litis aestimatio* as accessories to the guilt of the principal offenders are often subsequently acquitted on a regular trial by the very *iudices* who tried the first case. Scaevola was found guilty on other charges, but every effort was made to make this *litis aestimatio* involve his civil *status*. Had this proceeding really carried with it the moral weight of a regular *iudicium*, he would have been brought to trial afterwards under the *lex Cornelia de sicariis*?

It will be observed that in this difficult passage I have followed Classen's two best MSS., not the old vulgate defended by Ramsay. I suppose the case to stand thus. The *litis aestimatio* was in all cases a proceeding following upon the verdict of guilty (*iudicium*) and quite distinct from it. It was not a mere assessment of damages, but might also contain a statement that the accused was guilty of an offence which should be tried under another *quaestio*. Thus a man found guilty under the *lex repetundarum* might in the *litis aestimatio* be said to have been guilty of offending against the *lex maiestatis* or *de sicariis*. Or again, the *litis aestimatio* might state that other persons besides the accused were guilty of the same offence for which he had been tried. In either case the result might or might not be a new trial on the new charges. These statements, going beyond the subject immediately in question, were not made without previous discussion between the prosecution and defence. And in a case where persons other than the accused were charged (*appellati*) as accessories in the *litis aestimatio* it seems to have been considered fair that they should be present and have the chance of defending themselves then and there, or, if they preferred it, of studying the bearings of the

case with a view to defending themselves later. The proceeding is clearly described in the Pro Rabirio Posthumo, § 9, *Ita contendo, neminem unquam 'quo ea pecunia pervenisset' causam dixisse, qui in aestimandis litibus appellatus non esset. In litibus autem nemo appellabatur nisi ex testium dictis aut tabulis privatorum aut rationibus civitatum. Itaque in inferendis litibus adesse solebant qui aliquid de se verebantur, et cum erant appellati, si videbatur, statim contradicere solebant; sin eius temporis recentem invidiam pertimuerant, respondebant postea. Quod cum fecissent, permulti saepe vicerunt.*

I suppose the case of Septimius Scaevola to have stood as follows: He was accused and condemned under the *lex repetundarum*, and was stated in the *litis aestimatio* to have been guilty of conspiracy to corrupt a jury, which offence would have rendered him liable to prosecution under the *lex Cornelia de sicariis*. Verr. Act. i. 39, *quod Septimio senatore damnato, Q. Hortensio praetore de pecuniis repetundis, lis aestimata sit eo nomine quod ille ob rem iudicandam pecuniam accepisset.* But Scaevola, it would appear, was not brought to trial again on the strength of this *litis aestimatio*. Well, says Cicero, it is notorious that a *litis aestimatio* is not a *iudicium*; and he was right on the technical point, which had, however, very little to do with the real bearings of the case.

Cicero's whole argument on these points is a mere web of fine legal technicalities skilfully arranged so as to hide the real facts at issue. Even with our imperfect knowledge of the facts it is, as I hope I have in some measure shewn, not impossible to divine where his fallacies lie; and I am sometimes tempted to think that the *iudices* were not really so blind as Cicero supposed that he had rendered them, and that the acquittal of Cluentius, like Cicero's advocacy of his cause, may, so far as the charge of bribery was concerned, have been due to political calculations.

V.

CATULLUS.

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FEW periods have been so fertile in good writing of all kinds as the years of Roman history from 146 B. C. to the Christian era. The political tumults of the last century of the Roman republic did not in any way interfere with, indeed in some ways they materially assisted, the movement and development of literature. It was then that the Romans finally perfected a style which was only surpassed by the Greeks in beauty, and was not surpassed even by the Greeks in point and effect. All this time they were industriously labouring at the improvement of their poetry, drama, and oratory; were studying the grammar and antiquities of their own language, the theory and practice of their law, and the history of their empire. What remains of the productions of this century and a half is a mere fragment. Of the development of the tragic drama from Accius to Varius, so important in every connection, we have nothing to bear witness but broken lines and isolated passages. Much the same is the case with comedy in its various branches, with the *satira*, and with the numerous works on Roman history and antiquities, law, and grammar. The orators have been more fortunate, for though we have (except in the case of Cicero) lost all but a few fragments of some of their speeches, we have in the *Brutus* something like a critical history of the earlier oratory of the period, written by a great master in the art. But it is only of the poets who flourished during the seventy years before Christ, and of the progress of poetry in the hands of Lucretius and Catullus,

Vergil and Horace, that we can be said to have any real, any detailed, knowledge.

The development of Latin literature, so far as its form is concerned, proceeded during these years on a double line. On the one hand the Italians were studying with ever-growing care and conscientiousness the great models of Greek literature; on the other hand they were developing the resources and perfecting the finish of their own language. So that the influence of Greek on Latin literature is twofold. There is much in Latin writing of direct translation and imitation; there is also much of the indirect, we might almost say the moral, influence which the study of great works always produces. The direct influence of Greek upon Latin letters is the more obvious, the indirect influence on all accounts the more important. It was much to learn how to translate and imitate the Greek authors; but how much more to learn from Greek literature its lesson of perfection; to be taught to speak and write Latin as Greek had been written and spoken by the Greeks, with all the freedom and beauty and music of which the language was capable. This was the lesson which, during the last century of the republic, the literary men in Italy were modestly and industriously learning; and the record of their success is written in the history of Western literature.

A marked characteristic of the period which we are considering is the active cultivation of Latin literature in the provincial districts of Italy. Not that those districts had not previously done their duty in contributing illustrious names—witness those of Ennius and Lucilius—to the roll of Italian writers. But the tendency of which I am speaking was developing itself still further at the beginning of the last century before Christ. Cicero and Catullus, born respectively at Arpinum and at Verona, may be taken as typical representatives of it. Cornelius Nepos, the friend of both, came from Transpadane Gaul, and so did Tanusius Geminus, Catullus' enemy, the Volusius of *Annales Volusi*. Partly, perhaps, from the love of repose natural in their position, partly because they belonged, to a

great extent, not to the order of *nobiles*, but to the equestrian or middle order of society, the upper *bourgeoisie* of Rome and Italy, who were much engaged in trade, and to whom security of possession was essential, the men of letters mostly figure on the conservative or anti-democratic side in politics. This is the case with Hortensius, Cicero, Nepos, Lucretius, Catullus, Nigidius Figulus, Terentius Varro; as it was also the case with the literary men and orators of the Scipionic circle in the time of the Gracchi.

In the conventional performance of Hamlet on the English stage it is common to represent Polonius as a silly dotard, who, though incapable of seeing into the depths of things, is presuming enough to assign for Hamlet's apparent derangement the last reason which ought to be assigned, 'Still on my daughter.' The audience, of course, knows better; and the actor of the part, in consequence, usually forgets that Polonius has not walked on the castle-terrace at midnight. But what can be more natural than that he should attribute the lures of Hamlet to the first and best reason that occurs to him? No one but Hamlet and the audience can, by any conceivable power of divination, see any farther.

It has sometimes struck me that writers on Roman history who are absorbed in contemplating the event of the great struggles in which the republic fell, treat the men of letters who wrote on the opposition side in somewhat the same way as that in which our ordinary actor treats Polonius. Too much is expected of the literary men. It is supposed that the inevitable tendencies which are now so clear to us as we look back on the past would naturally have been obvious to them also. But the literary men, like Polonius, knew nothing of the movements of the invisible pioneer. They desired above all things repose for their work and fame as the crown of their honourable ambition, there was nothing to show them, Italians as they were, that Italy was more likely to prosper under the rule of the democratic party than under that of the senate. Beyond Italy they did not look, and could hardly be expected to look. Sulla had, in the

first quarter of the century, proved himself to all appearance stronger than his enemies. The democratic party was comparatively disorganized. No one, perhaps, not even Caesar himself, realized the full tendency of Caesar's designs. The party of order saw little more in him than a dangerous, because fearless and unscrupulous, adventurer, cherishing revolutionary ideas, and surrounded by doubtful companions. The men of letters hoped for the maintenance of a Roman republic respectably administered by the select spirits according to constitutional forms. And there is little doubt that they were hoping in accordance with their own interests. They did not see that the Roman empire was grown too unwieldy to be governed, even tolerably, by a quarrelling and unscrupulous oligarchy; but they felt with a sure instinct that a strong government, supported by an army, would be fatal to the free growth of literature.

The life of our poet falls into the very years in which it would be most natural for a man of letters to take sides against the revolution¹. Gaius Valerius Catullus was born at Verona either in 87 or in 84 B.C. Probably the latter date is the true one; for while there is no doubt that he was alive in 54 B.C., and no evidence that he was alive after that year, there seems no reason to doubt the statement of Jerome, that is, of Suetonius, that he died at the age of thirty. All indications tend to show that his position was that of an *equus*, a gentleman whose family was not ennobled either by birth or office. He began to write poetry—love-poetry of course—when a boy of sixteen or seventeen². 'When first the garb of manhood was given me, when my primrose youth was in its pleasant spring, I played enough at rhyming; and the goddess knows me well who mingles sweet bitterness in her cup of passion.' He was much bound up with a brother—apparently his only brother—whose death he describes as the ruin of his whole house, of all his joy, and all his delight in study³. The death of his brother, perhaps the

¹ For the facts on which this sketch is based I am indebted to Haupt's *Quaestiones Catullianae*, Schwabe's *Catullus*, Ellis's *Commentary on Catullus*, and Munro's *Criticisms and Elucidations of Catullus*.

² 68. 15.

³ 68. 20.

necessity consequent upon it of setting his home affairs in order, took him at one time back to Verona; and towards the end of his life he may have been at Verona when he dined with Julius Caesar: but for all the years during which we know him his real home was Rome; there he had his books, his friends, and his mistress¹. Like many other Italians of the same social position, he had his villas, one at Tibur and the other at Sirmio, to both of which, especially that at Sirmio, he liked to retire for health or refreshment². He was, if we may trust his own complaints, poor³: that is, he was probably not rich enough to support the expenses of a life among the best society at the capital, a life the attractions of which were now drawing into their circle many ambitious youths from the provincial towns.

When Catullus came to Rome we do not exactly know: but we know to a certain extent in what society he lived there. He was in good company. He seems to have been introduced to a circle of the highest literary and social distinction, where he met the Metelli and others in high place, Hortensius, L. Manlius Torquatus, the two Ciceros, perhaps also Gaius Memmius and his far worthier friend the poet Lucretius. Here, too, he met the lady to whom we virtually owe so many of his best poems. For it is, I think, proved that the Lesbia of Catullus was Clodia, the sister of Cicero's enemy Publius Clodius Pulcher, and the wife of Q. Metellus Celer, consul in B.C. 60. Now, supposing that Catullus came to Rome in 63 or 62 B.C. (and his arrival there can hardly be put later) he would find himself in an atmosphere very favourable to the development of his conservative sympathies. In 62 the conspiracy of Catiline had just been crushed; the equestrian order had not for a long time been in such high feather. It seemed as if the union of the senate with the *equites* had stifled the democratic party. Cicero was still on good terms with Clodius, and, though his relations with Metellus Nepos were strained, he does not seem to have broken seriously with Metellus Celer,

¹ 68. 35.

² 31.

³ 26.

with whose wife, Clodia, he was undoubtedly on terms of friendship. It must have been at this time or thereabouts, and in this circle, that Catullus first met Clodia, who would then be somewhat past thirty, and in the full bloom of her ruinous charms. Of Clodia we know little except upon the evidence of her enemies. She cannot, in any case, be held up as a model of domestic virtue; but there is no sort of reason for accepting as true the charges brought against her by Cicero and Catullus, two masters of burning and magnificent, but wholly wild and unscrupulous, invective. Beautiful, talented, and accomplished, she appears to have liked the society of distinguished and cultivated men. She struck Catullus with a fatal passion, which passed from the stage of blindly devoted love to that of furious hatred. Much of his poetry is merely taken up with this passion in its various phases. We can discern its different periods, a period of pure happiness, of doubt and fitful estrangement and reconciliation, of final desolation and despair. At first it is a love which the gods might envy, and more, to sit and gaze on her and listen to her sweet laughter with tingling ears and spell-bound tongue¹. Let us listen to the *Vivamus, mea Lesbia, atque amemus*², in Mr Ellis's refined and original hendecasyllables:—

‘Living, Lesbia, we should still be loving,
 Sour severity, tongue of eld maligning,
 All be to us a penny's estimation.
 Suns set only to rise again to-morrow;
 We, when sets in a little hour the brief light,
 Sleep one infinite age, a night for ever.
 Thousand kisses, anon to these a hundred,
 Thousand kisses again, another hundred,
 Thousand give me again, another hundred;
 Then, once heedfully counted all the kisses,
 We'll uncount them as idly; so we shall not
 Know, nor traitorous eye shall envy, knowing
 All those myriad happy, happy kisses.’

¹ 51.² 5.

And so on through a number of poems, till a change occurs, and all is turned to doubt and consuming pain. There are bickerings, quarrellings, reconciliations—Catullus' soul is torn asunder: 'I hate and I love. Perhaps you ask how that can be; I cannot say, but that it is so I know, and am sore tormented¹.' Finally, however, Lesbia must go, and the poet must master his pain as he can. In this connection perhaps the most beautiful and spontaneous poem is the seventy-sixth, *Si qua recordanti*, of which Mr Ellis rightly observes: 'The intensity of this soliloquy makes it one of the most interesting in the cycle of Lesbia-poems. As an expression of resignation struggling with despair it possesses a force and reality which belong only to the highest genius.' Let Mr Ellis again translate it for us in the metre of the original:

'If to a man bring joy past service dearly remembered,
 When to the soul her thought speaks, to be blameless of ill,
 Faith not rudely profaned, nor in oath nor in charter abuséd
 Heaven, a God's mis-sworn sanctity, deadly to man,
 Then doth a life-long pleasure await thee surely, Catullus,
 Pleasure of all this life's traitorous injury born.
 Whatso a man may speak, whom charity leads to another,
 Whatso enact, by me spoken and acted is all.
 Waste on a traitorous heart, nor finding kindly requital;
 Therefore cease, nor still bleed agonised any more.
 Make thee as iron a soul, thyself draw back from affliction;
 Yea, though a God say nay, be not unhappy for aye:
 What, is it hard long love so lightly to leave in a moment?
 Hard: yet abides this one duty, to do it; obey.
 Here lies safety alone, one victory must not fail thee,
 One last stake to be lost haply, perhaps to be won.
 O great Gods immortal, if you can pity, or ever
 Lighted above dark death's shadow a help to the lost,
 Ah look, a wretch, on me: if white and blameless in all I
 Lived, then take this long canker of anguish away,

¹ 85:

*Odi et amo: cur id fiat fortasse requiris;
 Nescio, sed fieri sentio et excrucior.*

If to my inmost veins, like dull death drowsily creeping,
 Every delight, all heart's pleasure it wholly benumbs.
 Not any more I pray for a love so faulty returning,
 Not that a wanton abide chastely, she may not again;
 Only for health I ask, a disease so deadly to banish
 Gods, vouchsafe it, as I ask that am harmless of ill.'

'White and blameless,' 'harmless of ill;' for to this pass has it come, that for poor Catullus, in the glow of his love, the whole guilty relation is transformed into the guise of innocence itself. Indeed nothing is more striking than the clearness and depth of passion which these poems to Lesbia reveal. Seldom has a poet spoken in so excellent a form the language of so transparent, so simple a soul. But darkness fell upon all, and the story of Catullus' love ends in hatred of his mistress and shameful invective. Nothing will now awaken his dead affection, any more than you can call a flower to life again that the passing plough has touched on the border of a meadow¹.

I hardly know whether it is worth while to observe that there is a rough correspondence in time between the duration of Catullus's connection with Clodia and that of Cicero with the democratic party. In the year 62, when or about when Catullus came to Rome, Cicero was still, as we have seen, on friendly terms with Clodius. This relation was, however, soon changed into one of bitter hostility. Yet until 59, the year of the first triumvirate, Cicero tried to keep on good terms with the great leaders of the revolution. Caesar did his best to save him. The conduct of Pompeius towards the orator, who belonged to the same *ordo* as himself, and to whom he had owed all the support that Cicero's devotion and eloquence could lend him, deserves to be branded as in the highest degree cold-hearted and treacherous. Now Catullus was, apparently, entirely estranged from Lesbia in 57, and in 59 or 58, some two years before, she had engaged in her intrigue with Caelius Rufus, and had become

¹ II. 21: *Nec meum respectet, ut ante, amorem,
 Qui illius culpa cecidit velut prati
 Ultimi flos, praetereunte postquam
 Tactus aratro est.*

more or less unfaithful to Catullus. In other words, Clodia began to desert Catullus about the time of the first triumvirate, the very time when the final breach took place between Caesar, Pompeius and Crassus, and the *boni* or party of order, to which Catullus belonged. Like other cultivated women of her time, Clodia was not without her interest in politics; and it may be that her conduct towards Catullus was a by-stream influenced by the great tide of public events.

In 60 or 59, if one may trust slight indications, the brother of Catullus died in the Troad, an event which, as we have seen, plunged the poet into the deepest affliction. In 57 we find Catullus away from Rome, in Bithynia, in the suite of Gaius Memmius, the patron of Lucretius. *Pete nobiles amicos!*¹ The poet, who, like many another young man in his rank of life, had gone out in the train of a Roman propraetor, hoping, perhaps, for some share of provincial loot, was as much disappointed as his friends who, in the same year and for the same reason, followed Piso² into Spain. On his return from Bithynia Catullus visited the tomb of his brother, and wrote the exquisite hundred and first poem *Multas per gentes et multa per aequora vectus*.

By this time, and indeed before he went to Bithynia, all was over between Catullus and Lesbia, and henceforth all the poems which have any personal interest are his political lampoons. In politics his friends and enemies are on the whole those of Cicero; his friends are Calvus, Sextius, and Hortensius, his enemies Piso, Vatinius, Clodius, and Julius Caesar himself. The scurrilous abuse hurled at the head of Caesar by this Roman Aristophanes has sometimes been thought to fix a stain on the memory of the great dictator; it has in reality done more harm to Catullus than to him. From the year 59 onwards, and especially after the conference at Luca in 56, the more discerning spirits at Rome began to perceive that Caesar was the rising genius. Cicero and Catullus now appear to realize

¹ 28.

² 28. 1 : *Pisonis comites, cohors inanis*.

with hatred and fury that they, and such as they, have found their master. During the time immediately following Caesar's invasion of Britain in 55 Catullus relieved his feelings in several virulent lampoons. No term of abuse is spared which popular license could supply and literary convention would allow. Nothing is too bad for Caesar: he is a glutton, a dicer, an infamous profligate¹. But, as Mr. Munro wisely warns us, the kind of charges brought by Catullus against Caesar are in no way to be taken seriously. It cannot be too often repeated that much of the indecency of the classical poets and orators was purely conventional, and carried with it no slur on the character either of the writer who uttered it or of the person whom he attacked. The Greek comedy and the Latin satire and epigram were of the earth, earthy; they probably sprang from rude performances which, if they smelt of the fields, smelt also of the dunghill. The Fescennine verses easily assumed the character of a simple act or drama, and much of the obscenity which shocks our modern notions of decorum was a mere property taken over from these primitive scenes of half-superstitious revelry. For there was a strong tendency in the ancient literatures to stereotype, in the form of their written compositions, traditions of utterances which had their origin in the real life and beliefs of an earlier age. Thus the literary *satura* grew out of the imperfect ancient Italian drama, the literary pastoral out of the genuine idyll, the literary *dirae* or curses, such as Ovid's Ibis, from the primitive *devotiones*. These considerations should be borne in mind before we pass a sweeping moral judgment on the classical writers. So imitative were they, such lovers of literary tradition purely for its own sake, that they were loth to part with any elements, even the coarser ones, which they found existing in the productions of a by-gone age.

Caesar succeeded, and the infamous scurrilities of Catullus have lived with his glory. It is forgotten that things as foul were said by Calvus of the grave and respectable Pompeius. What if Pompeius had succeeded as Caesar did? Perhaps the

¹ 29. 10: *es impudicus et vorax et aleo.*

Pompeius of history might have been identified with the Pompeius of Calvus' fescennine lampoon; the statesman of real life (to take the nearest modern analogy) with the statesman of *Punch* or of the pantomime. But enough of this subject.


Of Catullus' death nothing is known or conjectured but the year of it, B.C. 54. If this date is correct, we may, perhaps, guess that he died comparatively suddenly, for it is nearly certain that he wrote poems in this year. Besides some lampoons we must, if Mr Munro be right in arguing from internal evidence, include among the number the elaborate conclusion of the *Peleus and Thetis*.

A sense of disappointment at coming to an end of this broken and passionate life so soon, and with so little real record of its strivings and actions, is the first feeling that comes over us when looking back on what we know of Catullus. Few men of genius thus cut off in their early manhood have given so brilliant a promise. Few poets have ever struck so true a note of feeling. The mainsprings of Catullus' writings are his passion for Clodia, so powerful as to absorb, almost to consume his being, and his love for his brother. For all who can weep with those that weep, his poems are the transparent revelation of a pure impassioned soul, of deep natural sincerity in love and hate, of commanding genius in expression. But his lot was cast on evil days of dissolution, uncertainty, and despair; on the time of the very death-agony of the struggling republic. Catullus throws himself with all his natural ardour into the fight. He takes his side with the fiercest combatants, not scrupling to mingle with the crowd and throw dirt and stones with the lustiest of them. He has nothing in him of the philosophical spirit. He knows nothing of the austere, the almost religious seclusion in which Lucretius (whose book contains hardly more than a single allusion to any passing event) lived and looked down from far upon the struggles of nobility, genius, and ambition. The ills of mankind as a whole do not touch Catullus, still less has he a panacea for them in the shape of a philosophical creed. Common as the study of Greek philo-

sophy was among his contemporaries, there is hardly a trace of its having taken any hold upon him. He studied Greek, indeed, with ardour, but it was for purely literary purposes. The effects of his reading are to be seen in his more artificial poems, such as the *Coma Berenices*, the *Peleus and Thetis*, and others in which he translates or paraphrases Alexandrian or other Greek models. Catullus is not at his best in these elaborate pieces, though (they contain here and there passages of perfect beauty and limpid clearness). His real triumph is in his short occasional lyrics and lampoons, in which he appears as one of the greatest poets of all times and countries. His style in poetry is very analogous to the prose style of Cicero, with whom, though the orator was some twenty years his senior, Catullus was probably on terms of great friendship; a style natural, direct, vivid, powerful, tremulous with life and energy, perfect in form, genuinely Latin, yet penetrated with the Greek feeling for clearness and finish, classical and romantic in one luminous whole.

The analogy between Cicero and Catullus is, indeed, not limited to their style. Both writers represent the genuine protest of minds which long for a free development, against the inevitable advance of social and political forces that involve the sacrifice of individual motive and restricted interest. They were too late in discerning the coming wave, and, powerless to avoid it, they vented their fear and anger in utterances of bitter hatred. They were in the wrong; the gods applauded the winning cause. I am not concerned to defend the typical weaknesses of the literary character, its feminine sensibility, its want of self-control, its perverseness in practical life. Cicero and Catullus erred from blindness, and it was in great measure the very force and hopelessness of their error that enabled them to render the great services which they have rendered to the literature of Europe. We think of the deeds of Caesar, but we listen to the voice of Cicero. The historian, while taking chief notice, as in duty bound, of the great forces which in the long run mould society, and of the great men who consciously or unconsciously

obey them, has also his offerings of memory, *fraterno multum manantia fletu*, for those who have had inner and individual ideals, the current of whose thoughts and aspirations has been absorbed in the advance of the great flood by which old channels and landmarks are swept away.



VI.

SUGGESTIONS INTRODUCTORY TO A STUDY OF THE AENEID¹.

(Originally published at the Clarendon Press in 1875.)

THE following remarks are offered as a contribution to the interpretation of a poem to which a great deal of recent criticism has, I venture to think, been unjust. Much has been said of the artificial and borrowed element in the Aeneid, very little of the original element; and yet it is clear that a poet who won the ear of his nation so soon as Vergil, and became at once one of the most popular poets and the most classical poet of Rome, could not have gained this position without great original power. Because Vergil chose a vast and multitudinous material to work upon some critics have supposed that he showed no creative power in handling it; as if he had not created a new kind of epic and a new poetical language; as if any other Roman poet before him had attempted so vast and so difficult a problem, and as if any epic poet of his nation after him had succeeded in anything like the same way in holding the attention of mankind. Mere rhetorical skill has never made and can never make a work immortal. When therefore Bernhardy², whose careful and appreciative criticism on the Aeneid I wish to mention with great respect, refuses to allow that Vergil had any creative power; when Teuffel³, after pronouncing the same verdict, refuses him

¹ The Aeneid occupied Vergil for the ten last years of his life, 29-19 B.C., and he had intended to spend three more years upon it. He first drafted it in prose, and then wrote the books in no particular order, but just as the fancy took him. This fact fully accounts for the numerous inconsistencies, and other marks of incompleteness, in the narrative as we have it. See Conington's *Virgil*, vol. i (fourth edition), p. xxv, and vol. ii (fourth edition), pp. lxvi, lxvii.

² *Grundriss der Römischen Litteratur*, 2te Abtheilung, pp. 489, 496.

³ *Geschichte der Römischen Litteratur*, vol. ii. p. 442 foll.

any original gifts but those of tender sympathy and minute psychological insight, asserting that all his characters 'show a mild and humane temper, without asperity and roughness, but at the same time without energy;' when Mr. Gladstone¹ says that 'with rare exceptions the reader of Vergil finds himself utterly at a loss to see at any point the soul of the poet reflected in his work,' and charges him with allowing his mind to become so warped by artificial influences that he becomes 'reckless alike in major and in minor matters as to all the inner harmonies of his work,' and, in deviating from the Homeric tradition, commits such gross errors as can only be ascribed 'to torpor in the faculties, or defect in the habit of mind by which Homer should be appreciated;'—one cannot but feel that, if all this be true, Vergil's position in literature is a phenomenon difficult to explain.

It is a great misfortune that Keble, who as a poet had a soul to understand a poet, did not give to the Aeneid the same careful study which he gave to the Georgics. I have always found his lectures on Lucretius and Vergil fuller of poetical insight than any other modern criticisms which I have read on those writers, and though, as the following pages will show, I am not able to agree with his judgment on the Aeneid, which was in the main, with characteristic differences², the same as that of Niebuhr, still, as the *Praelectiones Academicæ* is now, I fear, as far as students are concerned, an almost forgotten book, I am anxious to express my deep gratitude for the many new lights in poetical criticism which it has opened to me. I know of no book where Vergil's love of nature is dealt with with so much real sympathy and insight. As for the Aeneid, Conington has, I think, indicated in his Introduction the true line which criticism ought to take, especially in

¹ *Studies on Homer and the Homeric Age*, vol. iii. pp. 510, 512.

² After passing some not wholly undeserved strictures on Vergil's treatment of the character of Aeneas, Keble (*Prael. Acad.* vol. ii. pp. 722 foll.) says, *Verum ut ea mittamus quæ propria sunt Aeneas; neque in illius neque in Turni persona neque in alio quovis eorum qui in scenam prodeunt Virgilianam illud video quod præcipuum habet Homerus: eventus scilicet ac summam cujusque rei verti penitus in eorum qui agunt motibus et affectu . . . Virgilius . . . ipsorum qui dimicant personis vel minorem impendit curam vel certe non adeo felicem; unum modo alterumque excipias.* Niebuhr thought that Vergil's real merit lay in his erudition; Keble (who goes so far as to say *fluminum ac sylvarum gratia ponit fata moresque hominum*) that his natural bent was towards sympathetic description of natural scenery: both critics, however, agree that he made a mistake in attempting to write an epic.

regard to the relation between the Aeneid and the Greek drama. Of his views on this matter much of what I have said is only a development, πάντως γὰρ προσθεῖναι τὸ ἑλλείπον.

Recent French criticism has been more sympathetic with Vergil than German. Besides Legris, who has been followed by Merivale in the forty-first chapter of his *History of the Romans under the Empire*, MM. Sainte-Beuve, Patin, and Gaston Boissier have contributed valuable matter to the criticism of the Augustan poets. The author last mentioned, in his work on the *Religion of the Romans from Augustus to the Antonines*, has a most ingenious and instructive chapter on the Aeneid, which he maintains to be, in its main intention, a religious poem. Most of the following pages were written before I had seen M. Boissier's work, but I find myself in substantial agreement with his views, supposing the phrase 'religious poem' to be used in the only sense in which it can be used of any work of classical antiquity.

THE Aeneid has been so often criticised from different points of view that it may seem presumptuous in any one who professes merely to study and interpret, to attempt anything fresh in the way of generally elucidating the thoughts of Vergil. It may happen, on the other hand, that a great work of imagination sometimes presents such difficulties to the ordinary understanding, that, although its power and beauty are instinctively recognised by succeeding generations of men, the main thoughts which have inspired it and which are the real strength of its author are not clearly grasped, and criticism, favourable or unfavourable, lingers over details with praise, blame, explanation, or apology, while it misses the great intention which lies beneath and is the foundation of the whole. This happens chiefly in the case of those works of art which are not the products of simple and elementary forces and passions easily comprehended, but which represent a complex and manifold surrounding of speculation and fancy; an atmosphere filled with a number of ideas which the creative power of the artist finds it difficult to

harmonize into a complete whole; a literary tradition rich with the gathered thoughts and forms of past generations, and claiming attention with such force as to render absolute spontaneity impossible; a society whose every form of existence is reflected and artificial, and in which the conflict of new and old elements is realized without approaching any apparent solution. In such a state of things a poet of true force and insight finds it difficult to find expression for great and far-reaching thoughts. The reverence for previously existing forms of poetry and the gathered stores of thought and imagination lying in the works of his predecessors—a reverence of which every true artist has always been full—makes reflection and reminiscence a duty as imperative as fresh creation: and while it deepens and purifies the poet's conception, exalts and widens the range of his vision, and makes him careful to embody every thought in the finest expression, it makes difficult, if not impossible, for him the clear forward look which is the privilege of a simpler age. The *Aeneid*, standing as it does at the end of one great period of history and the beginning of another, summing up in a poetical form the ideas political, moral, mythological, and religious which had been the creation or the inheritance of republican Rome, is an instance among several of a great work produced under the conditions which I have been endeavouring to describe. In dealing with such a work our first business is to interpret, our second to judge. All criticism is shallow and misleading which attempts to pronounce a verdict upon details before the main principles of the work have been fully mastered. I should not approach the subject at all were it not that, as it seems to me, the difficulties presented by the *Aeneid* have, as a whole, hardly been grappled with by modern criticism. They have been noticed, apologized for, or left on one side; but the question whether there is any main idea underlying the poem, which may to any extent account for them, can hardly be said to have obtained a thorough consideration. It is evident indeed that on a first reading the *Aeneid* seems to teem with anomalies. The epic framework is

out of harmony with the spirit of Vergil's time, and with the comparatively modern cast of the characters and ideas. We have all the detail natural in a primitive poem, but instead of primitive simplicity in presenting it, we find an elaboration of language which disdains or is unable to say a plain thing in a plain way. Realities of nature are sometimes disregarded for the sake of literary effect. The character of the hero himself is but dimly realized; and the whole aim and scope of the poem seems thwarted, obscured, or lost in masses of detail and cunning workmanship. All these and similar defects are easily noticeable and have been forcibly dwelt upon by those critics who are mostly content with comparing Vergil (as the phrase is) with Homer. It is not so commonly asked whether a poet whose genius could absorb the admiration of Dante, and whose influence probably contributed more than any other towards informing the poetical spirit and the verse of Milton, must not have had some qualities and quickening principles of wider reach than the tenderness, delicacy, purity, exquisite sensibility, elevation of tone, and dignity of expression, which all allow to have inspired the music of Vergil's numbers.

Our consideration will be directed mainly to two points: *First*, what is the main conception which the story of the Aeneid was intended to work out; *Second*, what were the chief influences, literary, ethical, and religious, which determined Vergil in his cast of the form, and in the treatment of the details, of his story. The two questions, concerning as they do respectively the form and the spirit of the poem, represent in reality two sides of the same problem, though for the sake of clearness it may be well to consider them separately.

The main purpose of the Aeneid, as has been seen by several critics, is to celebrate the growth, in accordance with a divine dispensation, of the Roman empire and Roman civilization¹. This theme was a great one, yet in one sense of the word hardly poetical, if it be true that poetry in its highest efforts deals with

¹ Aen. i. 7

*Genus unde Latinum,
Albanique patres atque altae moenia Romae.*

great characters in great situations. For in a story dealing with such matter the element of personal interest, which plays so great a part in the Greek epic and tragedy, must to a considerable extent be wanting. It was a subject likely rather to impose upon the imagination than to stimulate invention: the idea as a whole is more impressive than the parts can be made attractive in the working out: the grandeur of the outline is vague and stationary, leaving apparently but little room for the movement and proportion of life. Yet it would have been strange had not the imagination of Roman poets been struck by such a theme¹. And Vergil, who² before he wrote the Aeneid had fully realized the poetical side of the glories of the Roman empire and their apparent culmination under the first Caesars, would have been but an unworthy successor to Naevius and Ennius had he contented himself with merely producing, according to their example, a series of annals in verse. To his mind it evidently appeared that the adequate poetical treatment of his great subject required a mythical setting. The present must not be barely exhibited in the forms of its actual existence (this would be a retrogression in poetry), but must be idealized by the foreshadowings of prophecy, regarded as the issue and outcome of a heroic antiquity in which the lineaments of the present are clearly discernible. The centre of the mythical background was naturally Aeneas³, as Caesar was the centre of the present magnificence of the Roman empire. The

¹ Hor. Carm. 4. 15. 25 (writing, however, after the publication of the Aeneid)

*Nosque et profestis lucibus et sacris
Inter iocosi munera Liberi,
Cum prole, matronisque nostris,
Rite deos prius apprecati,
Virtute functos more patrum duces,
Lydis remixto carmine tibiis,
Troiamque et Anchisen et almae
Progeniem Veneris canemus.*

Propertius and Ovid, it need hardly be observed, paid considerable attention to Roman antiquities.

² Georgic 2. 167 foll., 3. 16 foll.

³ I have endeavoured to trace the fortunes of the myth of Aeneas in an essay now published in the second volume of Conington's Virgil (fourth edition).

religious aspect of the whole was naturally present to Vergil, as to any Roman. 'We surpass all other nations,' says Cicero, 'in holding fast the belief that all things are ordered by a divine Providence¹.' The theme of the Aeneid is the building up of the Roman empire under this Providence. Aeneas is the son of a goddess, and his life the working out of the divine decrees. The opposition to these decrees is, as we shall see in detail below, the work of inferior deities and the baser human passions.

Aeneas is conceived by Vergil as embodying in his character the qualities of a warrior, a ruler, and a civilizer of men, the legendary impersonation of all that was great in the achievements of Rome. His mission is to carry on a contest in Italy, to crush the resistance of its warlike tribes, to give them customs and build them cities². It is instructive to observe the similarity of language in which Aeneas is spoken of in the first and the Roman nation in the sixth book³. In his character of lawgiver and civilizer he is great as Alcides and Theseus⁴ whom he resembles in his mission: like theirs, his must be a life of struggle, of heroic endurance, and of great difficulties overcome. Like Hercules, he encounters and prevails over the anger of the queen of heaven; like him, and like Ulysses, he is permitted to lift the veil which parts the living from the dead, lest anything should be wanting to the full stature of his cha-

¹ Cicero *N. D.* 2. § 8 *Si conferre volumus nostra cum externis: ceteris rebus aut pares aut etiam inferiores reperiemur, religione, id est, cultu deorum, multo superiores. De Haruspicum Responsis § 19 Quam volumus licet, patres conscripti, ipsi nos amemus: tamen nec numero Hispanos, nec robore Gallos, nec calliditate Poenos, nec artibus Graecos, nec denique hoc ipso huius gentis ac terrae domestico nativoque sensu Italos ipsos ac Latinos, sed pietate et religione, atque hac una sapientia, quod deorum immortalium numine omnia regi gubernarique perspeximus, omnes gentes nationesque superavimus.*

² Aen. 1. 263

*Bellum ingens geret Italia, populosque ferocis
Contundet, moresque viris et moenia ponet.*

³ Ib. 6. 851

*Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento,
Hae tibi erunt artes, pacisque imponere morem.*

⁴ Ib. 122.

*Quid Thesea magnum,
Quid memorem Alciden? Et mi genus ab Iove summo.*

racter as priest, king, and lawgiver. His distinguishing epithet (*pius*) suggests not one heroic quality merely, but the character of the son who loves his father, of the king who loves his subjects, of the worshipper who reverences the gods¹. It will be worth while to follow the narrative in detail, with the view of seeing how this conception is borne out.

The first six books of the poem contain the preparation of the hero for his great achievement, the conquering and civilizing of the rude tribes of Italy. Of these books, three only, the first, the fourth, and the sixth, nearly concern us here, as the second, third, and fifth are episodal. The first and the fourth books form the opening act of the great drama. In these books we are taken at once into a scene which foreshadows, in legendary form, the greatest event of Roman history, the conflict of Rome with Carthage². Aeneas, the future lawgiver of Italy³, is brought face to face with the great city rising under the sceptre of Dido. Admiration for the queen and her work touches his imagination, love for the woman his heart⁴: as Caesar was half won by Cleopatra, Aeneas is half won by Dido: the king and the queen alike forget their mission, the half-built walls are left unfinished, the works of war and defence are abandoned⁵. But

¹ To have confined his idea of Aeneas to the outlines given of his character in the Iliad, as Mr. Gladstone thinks he ought to have done, would have been impossible to Vergil. Even were we sure that we have all the traditions bearing on the matter, which is far from being the case, we could not deny to Vergil the poet's privilege of conceiving and developing his own characters in his own way.

² Aen. 1. 19

*Progeniem sed enim Troiano a sanguine duci
Audierat, Tyrias olim quae verteret arces;
Hinc populum late regem belloque superbum
Venturum excidio Libyae: sic volvere Parcas.*

³ Ib. 4. 229

*Sed fore, qui gravidam imperiis belloque frementem
Italiam regeret.*

Ib. 232

Si nulla accendit tantarum gloria rerum.

Ib. 267

Regni rerumque oblite tuarum.

⁴ Ib. 1. 437

O fortunati quorum iam moenia surgunt.

Ib. 4. 332

Obnixus curam sub corde premebat.

Ib. 395

Magnoque animum labefactus amore.

Ib. 448

Magno persentit pectore curas.

⁵ Ib. 86, 194.

the commands of Heaven are clear, the founder of Rome must not be united to an Eastern queen: in this as in all things he must represent the idea of a true Roman. He crushes his love, follows the express commands of Jupiter and of his father's spirit¹, and leaves the queen to her fate. The fifth book forms some relief to the strain and intense passion of the fourth, of which we shall have more to say below: perhaps Vergil was not unwilling to dwell on the outward signs of the *pietas* which in the sequel leads his hero to seek the embraces of his father in the world of spirits. In the sixth book Aeneas, like Odysseus and Heracles, has the mysteries of death revealed to him, and as Heracles was said² to have been initiated into the mysteries of Eleusis before his descent into Hades, so the language and imagery of the sixth book more than once suggest³ that Vergil intended to embody in his picture the poetical view of that inner side of ancient religion which the mysteries may be supposed to have presented. As a son Aeneas goes to meet his father's spirit: as a king and a lawgiver he is initiated into all that could be given of the deepest ideas respecting the future life which were at Vergil's command. All the treasures of current mythology and philosophy are turned to account by the poet in

¹ Aen. 4. 351 *Me patris Anchisae, quotiens umentibus umbris
Nox operit terras, quotiens astra ignea surgunt,
Admonet in somnis et turbida terret imago;
Me puer Ascanius capitisque iniuria cari,
Quem regno Hesperiae fraudo et fatalibus arvis.
Nunc etiam interpres divom, Iove missus ab ipso—
Testor utrumque caput—celeris mandata per auras
Detulit; ipse deum manifesto in lumine vidi
Intrantem muros, vocemque his auribus hausi.*

² Diodorus 4. 24 μέτεσχεν (Ἡρακλῆς) τῶν ἐν Ἐλευσίνι μυστηρίων, Μουσαίου τοῦ Ὀρφείου υἱοῦ τότε προεστηκότος τῆς τελετῆς. See also Apollodorus 2. 5. 12, and Heyne's note.

³ Aen. 6. 258 *Procul o, procul este, profani.* Possibly the words *sit mihi fas audita loqui* ib. 266 (they recall Plato's words in the Gorgias c. 80 ἂ ἐγὼ ἀκηκοῶς πιστεύω ἀληθῆ εἶναι) may have a similar reference. See also the passages quoted from the Ranae of Aristophanes by Conington on Aen. 6. 637 foll., to which may perhaps be added, as a parallel to *solemque suum, sua sidera norunt*, v. 423 of the same play, where the χόρος μυστῶν says *μόνοις γὰρ ἡμῖν ἥλιος καὶ φέγγος ἰλαρόν ἐστιν.* On the general relation of the Sixth Aeneid to the side of ancient religion represented in the mysteries see below, p. 135 foll. See also Conington's introduction to the Sixth Aeneid.

the sixth book, his greatest effort, nor is the main purpose of the epic clearer in any part of it. The world of spirits is shown as sanctioning, by its examples of reward and punishment for the deeds done in this life, Roman ideas of law and morals¹, and the doctrine of transmigration is employed for the purpose of introducing a prophetic celebration of Roman heroes².

The work of Aeneas, prepared by wandering, error, trial, and divine communings, now begins in Italy. It is at this point that I should wish to call attention to a fact which I think has not been sufficiently dwelt upon, but which is of the utmost importance to the right understanding of the Aeneid, the idea, namely, which Vergil puts before us of the primitive condition of Italy and of the characters with whom Aeneas is brought into contact. The detail given us in the seventh book fully bears out the conception of which hints were thrown out in earlier parts of the work³. Before the coming of the Arcadian Evander, Italy, according to the legend adopted by Vergil, was (like ancient Greece in Thucydides) subject to constant changes of inhabitants and of name, infested by monsters⁴, peopled by rude tribes led by savage warriors. When Aeneas arrives the state of things is more settled, Latinus is governing Latium and Evander his Arcadian colony in peace⁵. There are, however, relics of the older state of things; the Rutulian Turnus especially, and his ally the Etruscan Mezentius, show traces enough of the ancient barbarity. More must be said below in detail on the character of Turnus: at present it is only important to remark that his alliance with Mezentius⁶, the

⁻¹ Aen. 6. 608

*Hic, quibus invisi fratres, dum vita manebat
Pulsatusve parens, et fraus innexa clienti, etc.*

² Ib. 756 foll.

³ Ib. 1. 263

*Bellum ingens geret Italia populosque ferocis
Contundet.*

Ib. 5. 730

*Gens dura atque aspera cultu
Debellanda tibi Latium est.*

⁴ Ib. 8. 328

*Tum manus Ausonia et gentes venere Sicanae,
Saepius et nomen posuit Saturnia tellus;
Tum reges asperque inmani corpore Thybris, etc.*

Other monsters are Cacus (8. 185 foll.) and Erulus (ib. 563).

⁵ Ib. 7. 45.

⁶ Ib. 8. 493.

contemptor divum, the leader of the robber bands whose custom it is to tie living bodies to corpses¹, is a trait significant enough of the conception which, as we shall presently see, Vergil intended us to form of the Rutulian hero. And who besides Mezentius are Turnus' chief allies? *Ductores primi Messapus et Ufens*², Messapus who towards the end of the story is one of the first and most eager to break the treaty solemnly sworn to Aeneas³, Ufens the leader of the Aequi⁴, the hunter and robber tribe of the mountains, rugged above all others, who never lay aside their arms even to cultivate the ground. Besides these Vergil's story makes incidental mention of other warriors of a like type in alliance with Turnus. Remulus⁵, Turnus' brother-in-law, is the leader of a tribe closely resembling the Aequi, and described by Vergil in very similar language. From their infancy their training is that of hunters and warriors, their delight is in plunder and the life of robbers. Cisseus and Gyas⁶ (*Cissea durum immanemque Gyan*) with their clubs, Caeculus the son of Vulcan⁷, Metabus⁸ the rude father of Camilla, the tyrant who, like Mezentius, has been expelled from his own city for his deeds of violence,—all these are characters of the same kind, minor characters it is true, and introduced incidentally

¹ Aen. 8. 483.² Ib. 6.³ Ib. 12. 289*Messapus . . . avidus confundere foedus.*⁴ Ib. 7. 745 foll.

*Et te montosae misere in proelia Nersae,
Ufens, insignem fama et felicibus armis;
Horrida praecipue cui gens, adsuetaque multo
Venatu nemorum, duris Aequicula glaebis.
Armati terram exercent, semperque recentis
Convectare iuvat praedas et vivere rapto.*

⁵ Ib. 9. 603-613

*Durum ab stirpe genus natos ad flumina primum
Deferimus saevoque gelu duramus et undis;
Venatu invigilant pueri, silvasque fatigant;
Flectere ludus equos et spicula tendere cornu.
At patiens operum parvoque adsueta iuventus
Aut rastris terram domat, aut quatit oppida bello.
Omne aevum ferro teritur, versaque iuvenicum
Terga fatigamus hasta; nec tarda senectus
Debilitat vires animi mutatque vigorem:
Canitiem galea premimus; semperque recentis
Comportare iuvat praedas et vivere rapto.*

⁶ Ib. 10. 317.⁷ Ib. 7. 678.⁸ Ib. 11. 539, 567.

only, but giving, in their general outline, a clear indication of Vergil's intention. Even Camilla, the warrior virgin, the Amazon¹ as Vergil calls her, who takes in the Aeneid the part played by Penthesilea in the Epic cycle, seems intended as a model of rude hardihood at least as much as of romantic daring.

Having said so much briefly, and as an indication of what I think the main purport of the Aeneid, the idea of the subjugation of semi-barbarous tribes under a higher civilization and religion, I will endeavour to justify my remarks in detail by a continuous examination of the story, and of the development of action and character which it produces. When Aeneas lands in Latium to seek the alliance of Latinus and to found his city², divine oracles, widely known throughout the Italian cities, had spoken of a stranger who was to wed Latinus's daughter and to lay the foundation of a world-wide empire. Aeneas, through his ambassador, announces his landing and asks for a simple alliance with Latinus: Latinus offers this and the hand of his daughter besides. The king can, in any case, bestow his daughter as he chooses, and in reading Vergil it must be remembered always that Lavinia is never really betrothed to Turnus, who is only a suitor among other suitors, and differing from the rest in nothing but his ancestry and his beauty, and in having the favour of the queen-mother³ on his side. To stir up a war for the sake of mere personal inclination against a cause manifestly favoured by the will of the gods would, from the point of view of the ancient religions, as surely have been thought impious and perverse, as, from a modern point of view, it appears natural to centre our interest on the adventurous warrior who is ready to sacrifice his life for his love. But Vergil is not to be read as if he were a modern writer of romance, but to be interpreted according to the ideas of his time. We find in the Aeneid no genuine trace of sympathy either for Turnus or for the cause which he

¹ Aen. 11. 648.

² Ib. 7. 58, 104.

³ Ib. 7. 55.

represents¹. Such sympathy is a feeling induced by the spirit and associations of modern literature. When the treaty between Latinus and Aeneas is apparently concluded it is the element of obstinate female passion, represented among the gods by Juno and among men by the queen Amata, joined to the headstrong violence of Turnus, which confounds the peace and embroils all in a long series of discord. The queen of heaven², unable to bend the gods above, stoops to move the powers of hell. The Fury Allecto, summoned from Tartarus, first visits the queen Amata, already distracted by the new turn of events and infatuated in favour of Turnus. Driven wild by the opposition of the king, the queen³ passes from one city, from one warlike tribe to another, calling on the people to redress her wrongs: then, in a feigned Bacchanalian frenzy, the frenzy, be it observed, of all most hateful to the genuine religious feeling of the Romans, hides her daughter in the mountains, and summons the matrons to join with her in her orgies. Meanwhile Turnus himself is visited by Allecto⁴, who, in the guise of an aged priestess of Juno, exhorts him at once to force his will upon Latinus at the sword's point. And here let us observe the first touch, by no means, I think,

¹ Mr. Gladstone (*Studies on Homer and the Homeric Age*, iii. p. 512) speaks of 'the superior character and attractions of Turnus,' and of the poet being 'now for once upon true national ground: he was an Italian minstrel singing to Italians, whether truly or mythically is of less consequence, about an Italian hero.' I cannot think that a careful study of the Aeneid will be found to bear out either part of this statement.

² Aen. 7. 286 foll.

³ Ib. 7. 376 foll.

*Tum vero infelix, ingentibus excita monstris,
Immensam sine more furit lymphata per urbem:*

*Per medias urbes agitur populosque ferocis.
Quin etiam in silvas, simulato numine Bacchi,
Maius adorta nefas maioremque orsa furorem, etc.*

The description of the queen, and more particularly the *ingens coluber* in which the frenzy is embodied (v. 352) recalls Plutarch's description of the Bacchanalian celebrations of Olympias the mother of Alexander (Alex. 2) ἡ δὲ Ὀλυμπιάς μᾶλλον ἐτέρων ζηλώσασα τὰς κατοχὰς καὶ τοὺς ἐνθουσιασμοὺς ἐξάγουσα βαρβαρικώτερον ὄφεις μεγάλους χειροῦθεις ἐφέιλκετο τοῖς θιάσοις, οἳ πολλάκις ἐκ τοῦ κιττοῦ καὶ τῶν μυστικῶν λίκνων παραναδύμενοι καὶ περιελιττόμενοι τοῖς θύρσοις τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ τοῖς στεφάνοις ἐξέπληττον τοὺς ἀνδρας.

⁴ Ib. 7. 406 foll.

an insignificant one, in Vergil's sketch of Turnus' character. He receives the supposed priestess not, as might have been expected, with reverence, but with jeers. 'Past bearing the truth, and palsied by dull inaction, thy dotage troubles thee in vain; leave thy soothsayings and go back to tend the images and temple, thy proper care¹.' These are the first words of the man whose violence (and he is the only character to whom Vergil applies the bad word *violentia*²) we shall have occasion to notice many instances hereafter. Turnus is in fact a barbarian³, a soldier, it is true, but still a barbarian, in but few of his words and acts free from boasting and arrogance. His taunt to the supposed priestess is terribly answered; in an agony of terror he shakes off his sleep, and then, changing fear for fury, sends at once to Latinus to break his peace with him, and takes the leadership of the new war into his own hands. He will be a match, he says, for Trojans and Latins alike⁴. His rude Rutulians follow him, and the wild country folk are, by the agency of the Fury, stirred up to the quarrel. Iulus in hunting chances to kill a stag belonging to Tyrrhus, the master of Latinus' flocks and herds. At the voice of their sister Silvia the sons of Tyrrhus and the stubborn rustics

¹ Aen. 7. 440 *Sed te victa situ verique effeta senectus,
O mater, curis nequiquam exercet, et arma
Regum inter falsa vatem formidine ludit, etc.*

² Ib. 10. 151, 11. 354, 376, 12. 9, 45.

³ Tibullus 2. 5. 39 foll. has some verses which are worth quoting, as showing that a contemporary poet took the same view of the general scope of the story of Aeneas as that which I suppose to have been Vergil's own (if indeed the lines do not directly refer to the Aeneid)

*Impiger Aenea, volitantis frater Amoris
Troica qui profugis sacra vehis ratibus,
Iam tibi Laurentes adsignat Iupiter agros,
Iam vocat errantes hospita terra Lares.
Illic sanctus eris, cum te veneranda Numici
Unda deum caelo miserit Indigetem.
Ecce super fessas volitat Victoria puppes:
Tandem ad Troianos diva superba venit:
Ecce mihi lucent Rutulis incendia castris:
Iam tibi praedico, barbare Turne, necem.
Ante oculos Laurens castrum murusque Lavinist
Albaque ab Ascanio condita Longa duce.*

Compare Servius on Aen. 9. 58 *sane exprimitur Turni violentia. Nam viam per avia nullus requirit.*

⁴ Aen. 7. 467 foll.

flock together with any rude weapon they can seize; the Trojan youth are ready to meet them, and the battle becomes general. Only one voice is raised in favour of peace, that of the aged Galaesus, the most righteous in the Ausonian fields, who is slain in the attempt at mediation¹.

Then Juno² brings matters to a head, and the violence of Turnus joins with the Bacchanalian frenzy of Amata and the other matrons to call for the accursed strife which the omens and the oracles of the gods have forbidden. Latinus, unmoved by their clamour as a rock by the tumult of the waves, is nevertheless powerless to resist the course of events. Overcome by despair, he retires into the palace and resigns the reins of government.

At this point³ the poet takes the opportunity of mustering before the eye of the reader the forces which come to the aid of Turnus. The catalogue in the seventh book is not merely a piece of artistic workmanship, intended to exhibit the rhetorical skill of Vergil. It is a tribute to the greatness of Italy in her early days; to the land which even of old was the mother of armies and of heroic leaders⁴. Considered from this point of view, this episode is singularly in place, and the fineness and beauty of the details are enhanced (as always) by the appropriateness of the setting.

The seventh book has introduced us to the rude tribes of Italy and their barbarous chiefs: the eighth book opens with the tumult of war and the wild fierceness of the maddened Italian youth. The opening scene over, we are presented with another

¹ Aen. 7. 535.

² Ib. 577 foll.

³ Gladstone, *l. c.*, p. 504 says, 'Virgil in his imitation of the Homeric Catalogue . . . with vast and indeed rather painful effort, carries us through his long list at a laboriously sustained elevation.' The catalogue is tedious enough, no doubt, if it be regarded as a mere imitation of Homer: but it is not just to consider it in this light.

⁴ Aen. 7. 643

Quibus Italia iam tum

Floruerit terra alma viris, quibus arserit armis.

Comp. G. 2. 173

Salve, magna parens frugum, Saturnia tellus,

Magna virum.

In the sixth Aeneid (v. 784) similar language is applied to Rome, which in Vergil's view had absorbed the manhood and strength of Italy.

picture: that of Aeneas communing with the river-god Tiber¹, and, in obedience to the omen pointed out to him, rowing his quiet way up the stream among the boughs of trees, and presenting himself before Evander, the king of the Arcadian settlement. Evander, when he receives Aeneas, is celebrating a festival in honour of Hércules². More will be said below on the fitness of the episode now introduced by Vergil; it will be sufficient to observe here that its general purport is doubtless twofold: on the one hand to suggest the parallel between the exploits of Alcides and those of the mythical founder of Rome, and on the other, to give a poetical colouring to the actually existing worship of Hercules, the special god of conquerors and of successful men generally, which was a main element in the Roman religion. After the majestic story of Hercules' exploits, happily put by Vergil into the mouth of Evander, is finished, the Arcadian king describes to his guest the former condition of the land which he has come to govern³, and guides him over the spots hereafter to become famous in the Rome of history. But this is not enough for Vergil, who wishes not merely to throw an antiquarian interest around the early state of Italy and the places which fable or religion had hallowed in Rome, but to give a foreshadowing of the greater glories of actual Roman history, culminating before his poetic imagination in the newly-founded empire of the Caesars. We are prepared accordingly for the episode of the shield of Aeneas. In trouble for her son's safety, Venus asks Vulcan for divine armour to shield him⁴; we are introduced for a moment to the forges of the Cyclopes and the moulding of the divine weapons, and then brought back again to the danger of the hero in the new country of his hopes, surrounded by enemies, and without an ally except Evander. Aeneas sets out, on the advice of Evander, to ask the aid of the Etruscans of Caere, long in revolt against their savage king Mezentius. Arrived there, he is visited by his goddess mother, bearing the divinely-fashioned armour, and above all the shield,

¹ Aen. 8. 31 foll.³ Ib. 306 foll.² Ib. 102 foll.⁴ Ib. 36j.

on which the hand of the god has engraved the story of the future destinies and glories of Rome¹.

It is perhaps hardly necessary to dwell on the ninth book, the absence of Aeneas, the siege of his camp, the episode of Nisus and Euryalus. Vergil's handling of the story in this case is not an instance of his happier manner: the incidents are contrived with too rigid an adherence to the outline given in the Iliad, and, in spite of great beauties of detail, the reader is sensible throughout of a certain awkwardness and pointlessness in the whole. This fact has been dwelt upon by critics, as it is indeed obvious; but I must not leave the ninth book without remarking upon the light which it throws upon the character of Turnus as conceived by Vergil. The picture of him, as he comes before the beleaguered walls, is no doubt the picture of a bold warrior²; but there are touches of something besides bravery. There is the old wildness³ in his air; like Amata, as described in her frenzy⁴ in the seventh book, he is on fire, like the blazing pine-torch which he carries. When the Trojan ships are saved from his attack, by the interposition of Cybele, he is ready with an application of the omen to the Trojans; for the oracles which they carry with them he cares nothing⁵. Forgetting that Lavinia has never even been betrothed to him, he accuses Aeneas of repeating the offence of Paris. The narrative of his exploits in the ninth book need not detain us longer, but the development of the story in the later books brings out more clearly than ever the contrast between Aeneas and the rude warrior who is opposed to him. The tenth book brings Aeneas back to his soldiers from the embassy in which he has instructed the Etruscan king of Caere of the resources of Mezentius and the

¹ Aen. 8. 731 *Attollens umero famamque et fata nepotum.*

² Ib. 9. 47 foll.

³ Ib. 57

Huc turbidus atque huc

Lustrat equo muros.

⁴ Ib. 72

Atque manum pinu flagranti fervidus implet.

Comp. 7. 397 (of Amata) *Ipsa inter medias flagrantem fervida pinum sustinet.*

⁵ Ib. 9. 128 foll.

violent passions of Turnus¹. The conflicts which ensue lead up to the death of Pallas at the hand of Turnus, and that of Lausus and his father Mezentius at the hand of Aeneas. Let us look for a moment at the way in which the two warriors respectively behave at the moment of their triumph. Turnus approaches Pallas with the savage wish that his father Evander were there to see him fall². In the combat that follows Pallas is slain; Turnus sends him back, he says, as Evander deserved to see him. 'Whatever honour there be in a mound of earth³, whatever consolation in covering him with the ground, I freely grant.' Unchecked by the thought that a day of vengeance will one day be at hand, Turnus allows free play to his arrogant thoughts: he robs the belt of the fallen youth, and wears it exulting on his own shoulders, triumphing insolently in the slaughter which he has just dealt⁴. Aeneas, infuriated, seizes eight youths as an offering to the Manes of Pallas⁵, and the battle proceeds with renewed ardour. The book ends with the exploits of Mezentius and his

¹ Aen. 10. 151

Violentaque pectora Turni

Edocet.

² Ib. 442.

³ Ib. 492

Qualem meruit, Pallanta remitto:

*Quisquis honos tumuli, quidquid solamen humandi est,
Largior.*

⁴ Ib. 513

Te, Turne, superbum

Caede nova quaerens.

⁵ The *barbara atque immanis consuetudo hominum immolatorum* (Cicero *pro Fonteio* § 31) had ceased to form a part of the regular Roman state-religion. But the practice of getting rid of a political enemy on the pretext of sacrificing him to the Manes of a slain opponent was not unknown to the passions of the last century of the republic. It is thus that Lucan describes the brutal murder of Marius Gratidianus at the hands of Catiline (2. 173)

Quid sanguine Manes

Placatos Catuli referam? cui victima tristes

Inferias Marius, forsanelentibus umbris,

Pendit, inexpleto non fanda piacula busto.

Comp. Cic. in *Pisonem* § 16 *A me quidem etiam poenas expetistis quibus coniuratorum manes mortuorum expiaretis . . . Quorum ego furori nisi cessissem, in Catilinae busto vobis ducibus mactatus essem.* Suetonius says of Augustus himself (Aug. 15) *Scribunt quidam trecentos ex dediticiis electos utriusque ordinis ad aram Divo Iulio exstructam Idibus Martiis hostiarum more mactatos.* The mere possibility that such an act could be imputed to Augustus is characteristic of the times, and may perhaps partly explain why Vergil attributes to Aeneas an act which seems at first sight so alien to the character of his hero, however suitable it may appear to that of the Homeric Achilles.

son Lausus, and the death of the latter at the hand of Aeneas. The narrative of Lausus' death must detain us a moment as an instance both of the general pathos of Vergil's manner and of his conception of Aeneas' character, as throughout the foil and contrast to that of Turnus. Lausus, seeing his father Mezentius in danger¹, wards off from him the blow of Aeneas' sword, and turns the whole brunt of the battle against the Trojan hero. Aeneas warns him of his certain fate, but in vain; Lausus rushes impetuously against his stronger enemy. His end is upon him, he falls; Aeneas, touched at the example of a son's devotion, takes him by the hand, and in words full of dignity and compassion refuses to take from him the armour which he loved. It is worth while to attend to the difference between Aeneas' conduct in the case of Lausus and that of Turnus in the case of Pallas, and especially to the language in which each addresses his fallen enemy. 'Whatever honour there may be in a mound of earth, whatever consolation in covering him with the ground, I freely grant.' 'What worthy reward can Aeneas give thee now, poor boy; Aeneas who loved his father, for deeds such as thine, for such nobility of soul? Keep as thine own the arms that have been thy joy, and I send thee back to the spirits and ashes of thy fathers, if they have any care for such things².'

The book ends with the death of Mezentius, the last quieting of the savage violence of his soul³. Vergil has been censured for calling Mezentius a disdainer of the gods and a tyrant to his people, and yet attributing to him the love for his son and affection for his horse, which add so much pathos to the closing scenes of the tenth book. I venture to say that had the harsher features of Mezentius' character been dwelt upon at length, all the human interest which now attends his fate would have

¹ Aen. 10. 796 foll.

² Ib. 825 *Quid tibi nunc, miserande puer, pro laudibus istis,
Quid pius Aeneas tanta dabit indole dignum?
Arma, quibus lactatus, habe tua; teque parentum
Manibus et cineri, si qua est ea cura, remitto.*

³ Ib. 897 *Ubi nunc Mezentius acer, et illa
Effera vis animi?*

vanished. His cruelty and impiety, now things of the past, were sufficiently indicated before, and it is enough for the poet to mark his character in this context, by comparing his furious entrance on the field to the march of the terrible storm-god Orion through the ocean¹. But Mezentius, though a barbarian and a tyrant, has the feelings of a man; his passionate love of his son is in reality one of the most natural traits in such a character. Who would care to read Herodotus' story of Periander, the son of Cypselus, were his fierceness unredeemed by his love for his son Lycophron? We ought not to deny to Vergil the praise which he deserves for having refused to stain his pages by the coarse portraiture of a monster.

With the death of Pallas on the one hand, and that of Lausus and Mezentius on the other, a break naturally occurs in the story of the war. Aeneas has no tenderness for Mezentius as he had for his son: he strips him of his armour, with which he raises a trophy to the god of war². Both sides pause to bury their dead, and at no point in the course of the story, except perhaps at the beginning of the sixth book, does the heroic outline in which Vergil evidently intended to draw the character of Aeneas become more apparent. If confirmation of this view be needed, a careful study of the first hundred and fifty lines of the eleventh book will amply supply it. After the burial scenes we are introduced to the discords long previously existing, and now more openly showing themselves, in the camp of the Latins³. Drances especially heads a cry that it is on Turnus' head alone that the responsibility of the war ought to fall, that he should meet Aeneas in single combat if he claim for himself the first

¹ Aen. 10. 763

Turbidus ingreditur campo. Quam magnus Orion, etc.

² Ib. 11. 5. foll.

³ Ib. 217 foll.

*Dirum exsecrantur bellum Turnique hymenaeos;
Ipsam armis, ipsumque iubent decernere ferro,
Qui regnum Italiae et primos sibi poscat honores.*

*Multa simul contra variis sententia dictis
Pro Turno, etc.*

honours of the Italian kingdom. Meanwhile, the ambassadors previously sent to ask aid against the Trojans from Diomedes return with the gloomy message that their labour has been in vain¹. Latinus assembles a council, in which he proposes to come to terms with Aeneas and to give the Trojans a tract of land to settle upon, and to take them into perpetual alliance. The proposal is supported by Drances, to whom Turnus replies in a speech of splendid spirit and eloquence, but full also, as Vergil clearly intends to imply, of the infatuate presumption which is to prove his ruin. He will meet Aeneas, he says, even if he come in the guise of the great Achilles, and, like him, clad in divine armour². The sequel will show how the promise is fulfilled. Meanwhile a panic and confusion arise in the assembly at the reported approach of the Trojan army. Turnus seizes the moment³ to make further deliberation impossible, and without consultation with his peers hurries from the council and makes his dispositions for a battle. As before, his rude followers are eager for war; as before, Latinus is helpless and compelled to abandon his designs for peace; as before, the war is undertaken without a thought of anything but the desires and ambition of Turnus. The interest of the battle which ensues centres chiefly in the heroic deeds and the death, of the virgin Camilla, just as Mezentius was made the central figure in the events described at the end of the tenth book. Camilla slain, the last hope of the Rutulians, Turnus excepted, is gone, and the daring Rutulian leader is compelled at last to consent to meet Aeneas alone, to take the burden of the war on his own shoulders, and to grant peace to his people and to the party opposed to

¹ Aen. II. 225 foll.

² Ib. 438

*Ibo animis contra, vel magnum praestet Achillem
Factaque Volcani manibus paria induat arma
Ille licet.*

Like so many other words of Turnus, these recall the words of Hector: in this instance Vergil is probably adapting Il. 20. 371

*Τοῦ δ' ἐγὼ ἀντίος εἶμι καὶ εἰ πυρὶ χεῖρας ἕοικεν,
εἰ πυρὶ χεῖρας ἕοικε, μένος δ' αἴθωνι σιδήρῳ.*

³ Ib. 459.

him¹. His mien is distracted², his consent is expressed in language bitter, arrogant, and disdainful. The attempt of Latinus, —who represents that, for love of Turnus and for the tears of Amata, he has broken all bonds of duty, has disobeyed the command of the gods, violated his covenant with Aeneas, and taken up arms for impiety,—to dissuade Turnus from entering on the unequal conflict, are in vain³. The violence of Turnus increases⁴, the disease grows under the attempt to heal it. The queen Amata, terrified at last into submission, follows her husband in the endeavour to persuade Turnus, threatening to die by her own hand⁵ if Aeneas (as she too plainly forebodes) prove victorious. But Turnus is on fire with love and rage, and insists, as he cannot but insist, on the agreement being carried out. The arrangements for the treaty are concluded, Aeneas and Latinus ratify it with a solemn oath, and the single combat is about to begin.

But again the wild Rutulians⁶ and the leaders friendly to Turnus show that they will be bound by no treaty. When the solemn covenant is concluded they refuse to abide by it; even the Latins, lately so eager for peace, change their minds, and with the help of the nymph Juturna, Turnus' sister, the rude multitude is excited to raise a fresh quarrel. The augur Tolumnius, falsely interpreting an omen which is in reality adverse to him, leads the way in a direct attack upon the Trojans⁷. The battle becomes general, Messapus showing himself con-

¹ Aen. 12. 1 foll.

² Ib. 9 *Haud secus accenso gliscit violentia Turno.
Tum sic adfatur regem, atque ita turbidus infit:
Nulla mora in Turno; nihil est, quod dicta retractent
Ignavi Aeneadae, nec, quae pepigere, recusent.
Congredior. Fer sacra, pater, et concipe foedus, etc.*

³ Ib. 29 *Victus amore tui, cognato sanguine victus,
Coniugis et maestae lacrimis, vincla omnia rupi:
Promissam eripui genero; arma impia sumpsi.*

⁴ Ib. 45 *Haudquaquam dictis violentia Turni
Flectitur; exsuperat magis, aegrescitque medendo.
Ut primum fari potuit, etc.*

⁵ Ib. 55 *Ardentem generum moritura tenebat.*

⁶ Ib. 216 foll.

⁷ Ib. 258 foll.

spicuous among the covenant-breakers, and Latinus flies with the gods whose presence has hallowed the treaty. Aeneas acts as becomes him, with bared head and outstretched hand calling to his men to keep the peace¹. At this moment he is wounded by an unseen hand, and then Turnus, seeing him retreating from the ranks, comes forward not as a peacemaker, but to take advantage of the absence of Aeneas in order to lead a more violent attack upon the Trojans. This is the end of his boasting and his promises, to act as Paris acts in the Iliad when Menelaus is wounded². The battle rages on, till at length Aeneas threatens to destroy the faithless city of Latinus itself. The instincts of a soldier awake in Turnus' breast; he resolves at least to go down to the spirits of his ancestors a soul unstained by cowardice³. A messenger comes to him to tell him of the coming doom of the city, and to reproach him for his absence from the scene of danger⁴. Turnus is confounded by the distracting view brought before him; shame, madness, love, and conscious manhood shake his bosom with the surging of conflicting passion. At length the shadows break and light returns to his mind; he looks towards the city and sees a tower, which he himself had built, in flames; his resolve is at length made up, the stain of dishonour is to rest upon him no longer, he goes to meet his doom.

II.

Having tried so far to trace the main thread of idea and intention which runs through the Aeneid, I propose to offer a few

¹ Aen. 12. 311 foll.

² Yet Mr. Gladstone (*Studies*, etc., vol. iii. p. 508) speaks of 'the genuine and manly character of Turnus,' in whom 'we do not find a single trait feeble in itself or unworthy of the masculine idea and intention of the portrait.'

³ Aen. 12. 646

*Vos o mihi Manes
Este boni, quoniam Superis aversa voluntas.
Sancta ad vos anima, atque istius inscia culpa
Descendam, magnorum haud unquam indignus avorum.*

⁴ Ib. 650 foll.

remarks upon a far harder question, what influence mainly determined Vergil in the treatment of his materials. This part of the subject falls naturally into two heads, the first of which embraces the consideration of the form of the poem, and the second that of the main literary, ethical, and religious conceptions which determined the cast of Vergil's characters and the whole inner side (so to speak) of the story in its development.

First, then, what determined the form in which the *Aeneid* is written? Vergil is thought of generally as one of the most imitative, perhaps the most imitative, of poets ancient or modern. This is an easy and obvious criticism: it is not, however, so often asked how this fact came about, whether it is due to Vergil's fault or want of original power, or whether it was an inevitable accident of his time and his general literary surroundings, an accident too which has befallen other poets besides him. I have little hesitation in expressing my opinion that of the two alternatives the latter is the true one. It was impossible for any ancient poet, as it is for any poet or indeed any artist at all, to start with a clear field, to leave the works of his predecessors out of count altogether. An artist, be he poet, painter, architect, or musician must, if he is to be great, have in him the vital power of creation, the spirit of life; but he cannot any the more for this, except at his own peril, disengage himself from the antecedents of his art. This would be to disown the continuity of thought, to reject the glorious inheritance left to him, to waste his labour in perishable and abortive effort. This is especially true, I think, of the two most inward and spiritual of the arts, poetry and music. No one blames Milton for absorbing into his poetry the forms and spirit of classical and Italian writings, or Beethoven for absorbing into his music the forms and spirit of Haydn and Mozart. If Vergil was imitative, he shares that quality with other great artists, and the fact, so far as it goes, is not his reproach but his highest praise. What however strikes and often offends a modern reader in Vergil is not so much that he imitates other poets, but that his imitations seem crude,

obvious, and often inappropriate. In numberless instances he gives not merely subtle reminiscences (such as we find in Dante and Milton of Vergil himself) but direct translations from Greek poetry, especially from the Homeric poems, and whole phrases directly transferred from his Roman predecessors, Ennius, Lucretius, and Catullus. Incidents not seldom find a place in Vergil's narrative for no other apparent reason than because they or something like them have occurred in Homer; his similes are often either directly copied with more or less adornment from Homer, or worked up from Homeric material; his very characters seem suggested by those of the Greek Epic cycle, Aeneas representing Achilles; Dido, Calypso; Camilla, Penthesileia; Turnus, Hector and Paris together. Two books in the Aeneid are given to Aeneas' narrative of the fall of Troy, because a considerable space is given in the Odyssey to narratives in like manner incidentally inserted; one book is given to the games held in honour of Anchises, because a book of the Iliad is given to the games held in honour of Patroclus; the descent of Aeneas into Hades recalls the journey of Odysseus to the land of shadows. It is impossible for us now to estimate accurately the amount of Vergil's debt to the lost writers of the Epic cycle¹, but several

¹ As far as we can make out from the very scanty materials now existing, Vergil seems to have followed Arctinus more than any other of the cyclic poets. The Aethiopsis of that poet contained the arrival of the Amazon Penthesileia, which doubtless suggested to Vergil the introduction of Camilla. See the analysis of Proclus, ap. Welcker, *Epischer Cyclus* 2. p. 521 Ἀμαζῶν Πενθεσίλεια παραγίνεται Τρωσὶ συμμαχήσουσα, Ἄρεως μὲν θυγατὴρ Θράσσα δὲ τὸ γένος Μέμων δὲ ὁ Ἡοῦς υἱὸς ἔχων ἠφαιστότευκτον πανοπλίαν παραγίνεται τοῖς Τρωσὶ βοήθησων. The last lines of the description of the picture seen by Aeneas in the temple at Carthage seem a condensed representation of the subjects of the Aethiopsis:

Eoasque acies et nigri Memnonis arma.

Ducit Amazonidum lunatis agmina peltis

Penthesilea furens, mediisque in milibus ardet, etc.

(Aen. i. 489).

Dido's question, *Quibus Aurorae venisset filius armis?* (Aen. i. 751), doubtless refers to the ἠφαιστότευκτος πανοπλία of Memnon. It may perhaps be worth while to notice that Arctinus in the same poem represented Ajax as slaying himself *περὶ τὸν ὄρθρον*. (Schol. Pind. Isthm. 4. 58, ap. Welcker l. c. p. 525.) The same is the case with Dido in the fourth Aeneid (v. 585 foll.), a parallel which would not be worth pressing were it not that the acts and words of Vergil's Dido so often recall those of the Ajax of

indications seem to show that it was considerable. The relation of parts of the Aeneid to the Argonautica of Apollonius Rhodius has been admirably discussed in Conington's Introduction to the Aeneid. But it is not only these broad features of the narrative which are copied; the spirit of imitation pervades the minutest details of Vergil's execution. To pursue this subject into all its *minutiae* is the duty of a commentator: in considering it generally we need only glance at the literary conditions which made such a state of things not only possible but inevitable. The kind of crude and external imitation which we find in Vergil is characteristic of all the serious Roman poetry: Ennius

Sophocles, who would probably use the story of Arctinus as material for his tragedy.

The Ἰλίου πέρις of Arctinus, so far as we can judge from the bare analysis of Proclus, must have been followed pretty closely in its main outline by Vergil in the second Aeneid. In his account of the debate about the wooden horse Vergil keeps nearer to Arctinus (if Proclus' analysis is to be trusted) than to the Odyssey. Τοῖς μὲν δοκεῖ κατακρημνίσαι αὐτόν, τοῖς δὲ καταφλέγειν, οἱ δὲ ἱερὸν αὐτὸν ἀνατεθῆναι. The order in which the proposals are mentioned is the same as that given in the second Aeneid (v. 36), and the proposal, mentioned both by Arctinus and Vergil, to burn the horse, is an addition to the account given in Homer. The story of Laocoon as we have it in the second Aeneid, that of Sinon, and that of the murder of Priam by Pyrrhus at the altar of Ζεὺς Ἐρκειος, were all contained in the Ἰλίου πέρις of Arctinus: and so was that of the death of Deiphobus at the hand of Menelaus, which would well agree with the account supposed to be given by the shade of Deiphobus to Aeneas (Aen. 6. 525). If Welcker be right (*Ep. Cycl.* 2. p. 235) in saying that the works of Arctinus appear to have been the most considerable among the poems of the Trojan cycle after the Iliad and Odyssey, Vergil may be supposed to have followed him from poetical preference. From the story of the capture of Troy and the Little Iliad of Lesches, Vergil does not seem to have borrowed much: indeed in details, as far as our evidence goes, he seems to have followed an altogether different tradition from that adopted by Lesches, who represented the murder of Priam as occurring not at the altar of Ζεὺς Ἐρκειος, but at the door of his palace: who made Aeneas' wife not Creusa but Eurydice, and who gave Aeneas himself as a captive to Neoptolemus. (Welcker *l. c.* p. 538). Pausanias (10. 25 foll.) describes some pictures of the night-battle in Troy at Delphi by Polygnotus, who, he thinks, followed the account given by Lesches. The details of these pictures cannot be brought into harmony with Vergil's account of the night-battle in the second Aeneid, nor do the names of the fighters, as a rule, occur there. The love of Coroebus for Cassandra is mentioned (10. 27. 1), so that Conington is probably wrong (on 2. 341) in attributing this part of the story to a mere imitation of Il. 13. 363 foll.

Whether Vergil (in the sixth Aeneid) was at all influenced by the account of Hades and its terrors which, according to Pausanias (10. 28. 4), was contained in the *Minyas* and the *Νόστοι*, cannot be ascertained.

imitates Homer ; Lucretius, Ennius ; few pages of Ovid (to say nothing of later poets) are free from imitations of Vergil. Even the Greek poets, free and spontaneous as they are, draw largely upon Homeric ideas and even upon Homeric phrases ; a Roman poet, who owed to Greece the whole awakening of his spiritual life, would have considered it little short of madness to desert the Greek models. It may be said to be a law which dominates the history of Latin literature, that no sooner had a fine thought, phrase, or even rhythm been struck out by a poet, than it became, by common consent, the property of all subsequent writers. To appropriate it was not to commit a plagiarism, but to do honour to its inventor. The only great presentment of heroic times open to Vergil was that of the Homeric poems ; it would have seemed impossible for him to cast his epic in any mould but in that of the Iliad and Odyssey. To reproduce their form in Roman outline, use their details, absorb their spirit, surpass if possible their effect, would be his first and most natural ambition¹. It would not strike a poet of his time as it would a poet of our own that an imitation should be rather suggested than paraded. Complex and (as the phrase is) modern as were the circumstances of Roman society and ideas in Vergil's time, the Roman poets were still simple enough to think that open imitation was rather a grace than a defect. There is a nobler way of carrying out the spirit of imitation, which is now the birthright of every true poet, and which consists in inward reminiscences of the spirit rather than open reproduction of the forms of past poetry. This, though by no means unknown to Vergil, as we shall see below in the case of his treatment of Lucretius, had not in his time worked its way to exclusive predominance.

If, then, Vergil constructed his Aeneid upon the lines of the Greek epic, he did what no Roman poet who wished to rise above the rank of an annalist could have helped doing. As little could he help using to the full the stores of genuine Roman

¹ See the beginning of the third Georgic, especially the lines
Primus ego in patriam mecum, modo vita supersit,
Aonio rediens deducam vertice Musas.

poetry that lay ready to his hand in the works of Ennius and Lucretius. In all this he was acting in strict accordance with the spirit of his age, and indeed of classical antiquity generally; nor is it necessary to dwell longer upon this head. I pass therefore to the consideration of the second point, the main moral and religious conceptions which seem to have determined the cast of the characters and the whole inner side of the development of the story. The form of the Aeneid is that of the Greek epic; not so, however, the cast of the principal thoughts which underlie it. These are partly Greek, partly Roman; but when Greek represent rather the traditions of the Attic stage and (I think in some cases) of the writings called Orphic than of the Homeric poems.

We have seen that the main conception of the Aeneid is that of the conquering and civilizing power of Rome directed by a divine providence: resistance to this divinely-ordered course of events being represented as the work of inferior deities, rude races, and the baser human passions. It may be said that to a great extent Vergil works out this theme in accordance with the ideas which inspired the great masters of the Athenian stage. The deeper and more religious view of the conflict of individual inclination with the divine will which is presented, according to their different manners, by Aeschylus and Sophocles, and though in a less marked manner by Euripides, was impossible to the simplicity of the Homeric times. The reign of mythology was, in the age of the Attic drama, past, and that of thought had begun, or, in other words, mythology gave the form and thought the matter to the creative power of the poet. This is precisely the case with the mythology of the Aeneid in its relation to the inner ideas of the poem. Imitations and reminiscences of the great Greek tragedians may be noticed by any one who reads Vergil with a good commentary, nor can I do better than refer anyone who wishes for a text, from which to work out this subject, to Conington's note on Aen. 4. 469¹,

¹ *Eumenidum veluti demens videt agmina Pentheus
Et solem geminum et duplilis se ostendere Thebas;*

where Vergil, with the utmost beauty and delicacy of his manner, expresses the sense of his debt to the Athenian drama. I wish, however, to call attention to a broader fact than this; to the fact, namely, which I think becomes abundantly clear to the student of Vergil, that the spirit of the whole action and play of character in the Aeneid is very like the spirit which animates the action and play of character with which the Greek tragedy has made us familiar. The plot involves the resistance of individual passion and inclination to the more widely-reaching divine purpose; human passion bent on its own fulfilment in contempt of the gods, and ending, as it can only end, in infatuation and ruin. This main idea is in the strict sense of the word tragic, and Vergil has worked it out with all the dignity and purity of Sophocles.

*Aut Agamemnonius scaenis agitatus Orestes
Armata facibus matrem et serpentibus atras
Cum fugit, ultricesque sedent in limine Dirae.*

I quote the following remarks from Conington's admirable note on this passage: 'Virgil must be judged by his own standard; and there is nothing inconsistent with that standard in supposing that the Pentheus of his thoughts was the Pentheus of Euripides, the Orestes of Aeschylus. He doubtless felt that it was to the stage that he owed the glorious vision of their madness, and he was glad to make the acknowledgment. It is this feeling which dictates the presents, *videt, fugit, sedent*. The frenzy of the Theban and the Argive is not a thing of the past, embalmed in legend; it is constantly repeating itself; it is present as often as the Bacchae or the Eumenides are acted, read, or remembered.'

Mr. Gladstone (*Studies*, etc., vol. iii. p. 516 foll.) censures Vergil for confusing the Hellenes with the Pelasgi and the Dorians, the Trojans with the Dardanians and Phrygians, the Simois with the Scamander, and other departures from the nomenclature of the Iliad. Most of these confusions, if they are such, find parallels in the works of the Greek tragedians, which, considering how much these poets drew upon the traditions of the Epic cycle, may point to variations of nomenclature earlier than the age of the Attic drama. An instance or two may be quoted. The epithet *Δωρίς* stands for Greek in general in Euripides, Troades 233 *δοῦλαι γὰρ δὴ Δωρίδος ἐσμὲν χθονὸς ἧδῃ*, comp. Hecuba 450 *Πελασγικὸν στρατεύμα* for the Greek army in Euripides, Phoenissae 106 *Δαρδάνιος* for Trojan in the Troades 534, 816, 840, comp. Helena 1493: *Φρύγες* is applied by Sophocles to the Trojans, Ajax 1054, and in a fragment of the *Λάκαινοι* (338 in Nauck's fragments of the Greek tragedians: see also the references given by Nauck on fragm. 336); by Euripides, Hecuba 4 and elsewhere, sometimes, as in Vergil, with the implication of effeminacy. As to the Simois and the Scamander, it may be observed that Aeschylus and Sophocles never mention the Simois, but that in Euripides this river is oftener mentioned than the Scamander. Other details of this kind have been dealt with by Conington in his commentary.

To illustrate these remarks I must dwell for a few moments on the episode of Dido¹. The Carthaginian queen is brought before us in the first book. From the first her character and lineaments have the mark of true royalty². Beautiful as Diana she appears passing through the midst of her people, her thoughts bent eagerly on her kingdom that is to be³, and sitting down in the midst of her armed body-guard to give laws and ordinances to her subjects. The ambassadors of Aeneas appear asking for her protection from fire and sword: with queenly generosity she at once acknowledges the greatness of the Trojan leader, and offers his followers either a safe escort to Sicily or a share in her own city and kingdom. Aeneas appears: his mien, his kingly expression of gratitude⁴, and the greatness of his misfortune move her to the noble avowal, 'I too have been hurried hither and thither by a like Fortune through many struggles, before she willed that I should at length settle on this land: I know what evil is and learn to succour the miserable⁵.' An interchange of magnificent presents follows, after the fashion of the heroic ages; then, by the agency of Juno and Venus, the queen is devoted to a deeper passion; woman-like, she is moved by the gifts of Aeneas and the beauty of his supposed son⁶, whose form Cupid has assumed. But leaving Cupid and his mythology, Vergil soon returns to nature. It is the exploits of Aeneas and the dangers he has passed which move the queen⁷. She asks again and again of Paris and Hector and the heroic story, the divinely-fashioned arms of Memnon, the horses of Diomedes, the stature of Achilles; nor is she content until Aeneas has told her

¹ Vergil's version of the story of Dido was invented by himself, in defiance of the current tradition. See Conington's *Virgil*, vol. ii (fourth edition), p. lix. foll.

² Aen. i. 496 *Regina ad templum, forma pulcherrima Dido,
Incessit.*

³ Ib. 504 *Instans operi regnisque futuris.*

⁴ Ib. 597.

⁵ Ib. 628

*Me quoque per multos similis fortuna labores
Iactatam hac demum voluit consistere terra.
Non ignara mali miseris succurrere disco.*

⁶ Ib. 714.

⁷ Ib. 749.

at length the story of the fall of Troy and his wanderings that followed.

The tale of heroic suffering and achievement does its work, the queen is no longer herself¹, the constancy of her mind is shaken. She sees before her eyes the possibility of a falling away from her first love; the thought is like madness to her, and she invokes the curse of Heaven upon her head if she forget her honour and her truth². Her sister dispels her doubts by a plea which Dido, as a queen, cannot resist. She has not yielded, and perhaps would not yield, to mere personal passion; but when Anna represents to her that a union with Aeneas will mean the union of the Tyrian and Trojan empires, and the great increase of the glory of Carthage³, she gives way, and her fate is sealed from that moment. In the true spirit of tragic irony Vergil represents Dido and her sister as sacrificing to win the favour of Heaven, from which she has just invoked a curse on her faithlessness; and to what gods does she sacrifice? To Ceres, Apollo, and Lyaeus, the deities presiding over the foundation of cities and the giving of laws, when she is forgetting her duty as a queen; to Juno the goddess of marriage, when she is forgetting her faith to her husband⁴. The passion works until the queen forgets her people and the defence of her kingdom;

¹ Aen. 4. 8 *Male sana.*

² Ib. 24

*Sed mihi vel tellus optem prius ima dehiscat,
Vel Pater omnipotens adigat me fulmine ad umbras,
Pallentis umbras Erebi noctemque profundam,
Ante, Pudor, quam te violo, aut tua iura resolvo.*

³ Ib. 47

*Quam tu urbem, soror, hanc cernes, quae surgere regna
Coniugio tali! Teucrum comitantibus armis
Punica se quantis attollet gloria rebus!*

⁴ I cannot but regard this as the most natural explanation of the lines (Aen. 4. 57)

*Mactant lectas de more bidentis
Legiferae Cereri Phoeboque patrique Lyaeo.*

The materials for the interpretation are given in Conington's note, though he has not himself adopted it. As he points out, *legiferae* is a translation of *θεσμοφόρος*, a title of Demeter (Hdt. 6. 91, etc.): 'Apollo again is known to have been celebrated as the founder of cities . . . and Dionysus, like Demeter, was called *θεσμοφόρος* (Orph. H. 41. 1).'

the well-known story unfolds itself, until at length Aeneas is awakened from his dream by the express message of Heaven, and remembers that his mission is not to help in the foundation of Carthage. The commands of the gods and the spectral appearances of his father Anchises recall him to his high purpose; he conquers the love which has hitherto mastered him, and prepares to start on his now unwelcome mission¹. One end only is possible for the devoted queen. Her entreaties, her reproaches against Aeneas and the gods are in vain; Aeneas is unmoved and stands firm in his obedience. The last stages of the story are like a working out of the *ἄρη* of the Greek tragedy. The gods themselves lend their aid in bringing about the ruin of the victim of guilt. Omens and dreams² warn the unhappy queen; the sacrificial wine turns to blood, the consciousness of her falling away from husband and country images itself in visions of the night, when she seems to hear the voice of Sychaeus calling her, to be fleeing before Aeneas in savage guise, to be looking for her people in a desert land, pursued by furies and madness, like Orestes by the image of his mother. Then, bent upon death, she deceives her sister by the pretence that she will have recourse to magic arts. Nothing is more touching and life-like than the speech³ in which she announces this intention, dwelling, as a relief from the cruel tension of her thoughts, on every detail of the witch's power, the stopping of rivers, the turning of the stars in their courses, the raising of the dead, the bellowing of the earthquake, and the descending of trees from the mountains. We pass over the departure of Aeneas, the agony of the queen, and the curse uttered by her which is fulfilled in the great struggle between Rome and Carthage, to notice, before leaving this part of the story, one more touch of Vergil's genius. Before the moment of her death Dido casts off the pangs and distractions of her last days and returns upon the great thoughts by which she has lived. 'I have built a glorious city, I have seen the walls that my hands have raised, I have avenged my

¹ See notes on p. 104.² Aen. 4. 450 foll.³ Ib. 478 foll.

husband and exacted the penalty which my brother's hate deserved¹.'

The episode of Dido is worked out very much in the spirit of the Greek tragedy, the confused moral conflicts of which it thoroughly recalls². It is the struggle of individual passion against the will of Heaven that Vergil intends to represent; the kind of struggle represented in the Ajax and the Trachiniae of Sophocles, where the loser loses and the winner wins without any end being served except the assertion of superior power. The real difficulty which a modern reader finds in realizing such situations is that we are accustomed and expect to see the right prevail and the wrong beaten; but this is not the spirit of the Greek tragedy, where it seems as if the natural moral feelings were playing blindly around undiscovered centres, where the powers at work are not commensurate with our ideas of the powers of right and the reverse, and where the righteous issue, as we understand it, is only dimly discerned, if discerned at all, by the straining eye. Dido falls, like Ajax or Heracles, for no offence commensurate in our eyes with the punishment which comes upon her. Yet I think it is clear that Vergil has no intention of exciting such a sympathy with her fate as a modern reader necessarily feels, and as a modern writer, were he handling the story, would wish to excite. Aeneas sins, not by leaving her, but by staying with her: the will of the gods once clear, he has, according to ancient ideas, no alternative. Dido has indeed fallen away from the first love to which she has devoted herself; this fact is never lost sight of in the course of the narrative, and

¹ Aen. 4. 653 foll.

Vixi, et, quem dederat cursum fortuna, peregi;

Et nunc magna mei sub terras ibit imago.

Urbem praeclaram statui; mea moenia vidi;

Ultra virum, poenas inimico a fratre recepi, etc.

² Among the external points of resemblance between the fourth Aeneid and the Greek drama may be noticed, v. 607, *Sol, qui terrarum flammis opera omnia lustras*, which recalls the great speech of Ajax in Sophocles: the phrase, *Di morientis Elissae*, v. 610, with which we may perhaps compare *αὐτῇ τὸν αὐτῆς δαίμον' ἀνακαλουμένη*, said of Deianira in the Trachiniae 910; the fatal use of the sword of Aeneas, which reminds us of the *ἐχθρῶν ἄδωρα δῶρα* of Sophocles.

so far Vergil has perhaps gone beyond the ordinary limits of the Greek tragedy in the direction of modern ideas; some sort of justification for the event, in the modern sense, may be said to be offered. But the impression left by the fourth Aeneid as a whole is that Vergil, though the general treatment of the story is adapted to the requirements of the epic, is at the same time using, and sympathetically using, the great ideas of the Greek drama in the advantage of the Roman story. The gods have determined on the foundation of the Roman power in Italy by the hand of Aeneas; resistance to this from the side of human passion leads only to infatuation and death. The fact that the story harrows the feelings and rivets the attention of a modern reader does not prove that the poet had any idea of condemning the conduct of Aeneas, except in so far as he forgets his mission by allying himself, against the oracles, with a foreign queen.

That such an act as the desertion of Dido should be attributed to a hero of the cast of Aeneas is quite in keeping with the spirit of the post-Homeric legend, in which the element of passion and the part played by women is generally prominent¹. Vergil indeed could hardly have absorbed the spirit of the Greek drama as he wished to absorb it had the Aeneid lacked some such episode as that of Dido. It may be readily admitted that his execution, whether owing to the fact that the Aeneid remained unfinished, or to the excessive bent of the poet's mind towards detail, appears to a modern reader, who brings his own critical canons to the consideration of an ancient work, imperfect; the heroic conception of Aeneas which Vergil evidently intended to realize is, at least to our ideas, not fully realized. Yet we must remember that our canons of criticism are not those of the Augustan age. The primary purpose of the Aeneid, like that of the other great works of imagination in whose mould it is cast, is in truth not so much to delineate 'character' as to exhibit the conflict of forces. The drawing of character is with Vergil,

¹ It is sufficient to refer to the cases of Theseus, Jason, Heracles, and Agamemnon.

as with the Greek tragedians, a secondary matter, in however masterly a way it may incidentally be executed.

The same conception, that of unmastered passion, in opposition to the fixed ordaining of Heaven, first vainly beating against its bars and then ending in distraction and madness, is apparent again in Vergil's treatment of two other subordinate characters, Turnus and Amata. In the last half of the Aeneid these play a part in the story somewhat similar to that played by Dido in the first half, representing the elements of contradiction to the divine economy. The character of Amata and her fate recall the spirit of the Greek tragedy as vividly as anything in the poem; with Amata, as with Dido, uncontrolled passion ends in mere distraction¹. Of Turnus so much has already been said that I need only add a word here upon the inner side of Vergil's delineation. Turnus is 'violent' in his outward dealings: and as his ruin draws near the growth of inner discord of mind and the maddening agency of the gods working upon this become more and more apparent, till at length his manhood and presence of mind seem to desert him. From the beginning of the twelfth book this progress may be clearly traced. *Turbidus, violentia, furiae*, these are the words applied to him² when he is preparing for his last conflict: when the treaty is broken and his cause again defeated madness and infatuation begin³. His final determination to meet Aeneas

¹ Aen. 7. 376 *Tum vero infelix, ingentibus excita monstis,
Immensam sine more furit lymphata per urbem.*

Compare the description of Dido 4. 300. There are other verbal resemblances in Vergil's description of the two characters, as between 4. 308 *Nec moritura tenet crudeli funere Dido*, and 12. 55 *ardentem generum moritura tenebat.*

² Ib. 12. 9, 10, 102. *Furiae* might stand sometimes as a translation of *ἄρη*, sometimes of *ὄστρος* or *λύσσα*.

³ Ib. 622 *Sic ait, adductisque amens subsistit habenis.*
Compare 665

*Obstupuit varia confusus imagine rerum
Turnus, et obtutu tacito stetit; aestuat amens
Uno in corde pudor mixtoque insania luctu
Et furiiis agitatus amor, et conscia virtus.
Ut primum discussae umbrae et lux reddita menti,
Ardentis oculorum orbis ad moenia torsit
Turbidus.*

is announced with an appearance of boldness, but he is no sooner unsuccessful than he is altogether mastered by fear. *Quem deus vult perdere prius dementat*; a terrible messenger is sent by Jupiter to end the matter. It is not the words of Aeneas, he says, that move him, but the gods and the enmity of Jupiter¹. Now he does not know himself as he runs or walks, his arms refuse to obey him, he is like a man trying to move and speak in a dream, his limbs and tongue fail, his bodily strength is gone, his thoughts turn wildly in his brain, he gazes now on the Rutulians, now on the city, hesitating from fear and trembling at the approaching stroke. Again the feelings of the reader are moved with pity: again, however, I think that Vergil has no intention but to show, with all the resources of his poetical power, the effects of a wilful resistance to the commands of Heaven. It is the story of *ἄτη* in a Roman form.

I have endeavoured, however imperfectly, to indicate the main ethical conception underlying the story of the Aeneid as developed by Vergil, if indeed this conception of human life is not rather to be termed religious. Certain other religious ideas, Roman and Greek, which appear to have had a hold on the imagination of Vergil, may now be mentioned.

Whether from conviction, or from an undefined feeling that the symbolisms offered by the positive aspects of religion were fitter for poetical treatment than the bare rationalizings of the Epicureans, or from both causes, there can be little doubt that the bent of Vergil's mind was towards a sensible object of worship, whether embodied in mythology or in the Roman state-religion. 'If he is happy who has cast all religious fears and the howl of greedy Acheron under his feet, so is he too blessed by fortune who can commune with the country gods, Pan and Silvanus and the sister nymphs².' And as Vergil in this passage showed, in his poetical way, that his fancy refused to be bound in the prison and darkened by the shadows of the gloom which the soul of Lucretius had chosen as its companions, so in

¹ Aen. 12. 894 foll.

² G. 2. 490 foll.

the Aeneid we may, I think, trace a reaction against the negation of all positive religious observance (I do not say creed, for the Greek and Roman religion was far more an observance than a creed) which was the natural outcome of the Epicurean philosophy. If the Georgics give a poetical colouring to the primitive nature-worship which was the foundation of the Greek and the Roman religion alike; if to Vergil the country is the abode of Pan, Ceres, and the Nymphs, and every implement, every process of cultivation, has its tutelary deity; if the first duty of the husbandman is to venerate the country gods, his kindly protectors; so in the Aeneid we find a poetical treatment of the broader religious conceptions embodied outwardly in the ritual of the Roman state. In the eyes of men of letters, like Varro and Cicero, this public religion was the outward representation of the belief that a Providence governed the progress of the Roman empire. This essentially Roman idea, to which allusion has been made above, was in fact the main-spring of the Aeneid: no wonder then if we find abundant indications that the revival of the Roman state-religion under Augustus was dear to the heart of Vergil. At his time, the forms of the old republic were breaking up and melting into the uniform outline of a monarchical system, and *pari passu* the multitudinous floating religious ideas, Greek, Roman, and Eastern, which filled the atmosphere of thought, were moving to a definite centre in the worship of the Caesars. It is a mistake of modern interpretation to attribute to a spirit of mere flattery the passages in Vergil and Horace which encourage this new form of religious observance. However difficult it may be to explain the origin of the *cultus* of the Caesars¹, there can be

¹ I quote on this point an interesting passage from an article by H. Jordan in the *Hermes*, vol. ix. part 3, on the temple of Divus Julius: 'Wir haben die Weihung des Tempel und Bild als einen aus der Initiative des Octavian (und seinen Collegen im Triumvirat) hervorgegangenen ausserordentlichen Act kennen gelernt. Undenkbar ist es, dass er—es handelt sich hier um die Consecrirung des *locus publicus*—ohne Mitwirkung des Pontificalcollegiums vollzogen wurde, welchem Octavian bereits zu Lebzeiten Cäsars angehörte. Auch muss man im Schosse derselben erwogen haben, welcher Klasse der neue Gott angehöre: die Bestimmung der Opfer, die ganze *lex*

little doubt that it arose from a genuine popular sentiment¹. What seems to modern sentiment a tasteless falsehood seemed, apparently, to the religious or superstitious temper of the congeries of nations then forming the Roman world, a not unnatural development; the exclusive religion of the Roman republic, which refused, so long as it could, an entrance to foreign worships, and the spirit of which was directly opposed to the deification of a man², was dissolving, and the worship of Divus Julius once called into life in popular feeling and observance, the flexible servility of Greek paganism³, which found it easy and natural to invest any benefactor of mankind with divine or quasi-divine honours, united with Oriental extravagance and Roman devotion in offering homage to the visible centre of Roman greatness, and thus virtually bowing to the spirit of the Roman religion in its new embodiment. In this point of view it is also interesting to trace how Vergil throws a poetic lustre in the eighth Aeneid round the Roman worship of

templi forderte das. Über alles das schweigt die Geschichte, nur dass sie die Aufnahme der griechischen Asylie in die *lex* nicht undeutlich bezeugt. Es genügt aber nicht, die Anknüpfung an den griechischen Heroencultus hervorzuheben, und es ist falsch den Genius herbeizuziehen. Der Genius des Lebenden, nicht des Todten wird verehrt, und die vorkommenden Fälle der Verehrung der Genien der verstorbenen Kaiser gehören in die ganz eigene Lehre von dem Cultus der Genien der Götter, der αἰεὶ ζώοντες. Nun hatte man schon einmal, vermuthlich um den zweiten Punischen Krieg, den Fall gehabt: dem Romulus widerfuhr die Ehre der Tempeldedication, also der Aufnahme unter die Götter. Erwägt man dem Parallelismus des Asylum auf dem Capitol und im Tempel des Caesars, die Neigung der Machthaber seit Sulla sich dem Stadtgründer zu vergleichen, so mag es wahrscheinlich erscheinen, dass der vergötterte Romulus an dem vergötterten Cäsar seinen nächsten Genossen im himmlischen Reich erhielt.²

¹ See for instance Suetonius Julius 85 *Plebs . . . solidam columnnam prope viginti pedum lapidisi Numidici in foro statuit scripsitque Parenti Patriae. Apud eam longo tempore sacrificare, vota suscipere, controversias quasdam interposito per Caesarem iure iurando distrahere perseveravit.*

² See for instance Cicero (*Philippics* 1. § 13) expressing the old republican sentiment: *Fuerit ille Brutus, qui et ipse regio dominatu rempublicam liberavit, et ad similem virtutem et simile factum stirpem iam prope in quingentesimum annum propagavit, adduci tamen non possum ut quemquam mortuum coniungerem cum immortalium religione.*

³ Cicero 2 *Verr.* 2. § 158 *Apud omnes Graecos hic mos est, ut honorem hominibus habitum in monumentis eiusmodi (statues, etc.) nonnulla religione decorum consecrari arbitrentur.*

Hercules, the god whom the Stoics, now the supporters of Roman orthodoxy, delighted to honour¹, and whose merits Lucretius², on the other hand, postpones to those of Epicurus; how he mentions the wild Bacchanalian frenzy and the arts of magic in contexts which imply distinct censure³; how the one foreign deity whom the genuine Roman religion admitted, Cybele, the mother of the gods and the friend of flourishing cities, is made the friend and protector of Aeneas⁴; how the poet represents it as one of the chief parts of Aeneas' mission to revive in Italy the lawful Roman religion, the worship of the Penates of Troy, Italian, according to the legend adopted by Vergil, in their origin⁵; how the battle of Antonius with Augustus is represented on the shield of Aeneas as the battle also of Roman against barbarian deities⁶; how prophetic allusions are made to the restorations of temples by Augustus; how the climax of the prophecy is reached in the conquest by Rome of the nations of the earth, and the dedication of their spoils at the temple of the Palatine Apollo⁷.

But the state-religion of Rome, imposing as were its conception and its embodiment, was not alone sufficient to satisfy the aspirations of the higher and more poetical minds in the age of Augustus. The condition of man after death was a problem which had occupied the fears, hopes, and imaginations of mankind since the simple conceptions of the Homeric poems had expanded and deepened with the centuries into the more serious ethical ideas of later speculation⁸. The popular religion of the

¹ On this point see Bernays, *Die Heraklitischen Briefe*, p. 45.

² Lucretius 5. 22 foll. Contrast Verg. Aen. 8. 185
Non haec sollemnia nobis,

*Vana superstitio veterumque ignara deorum
Imposuit.*

³ Aen. 4. 300, 492; 7. 385.

⁴ Ib. 9. 80; 10. 251.

⁵ Ib. 3. 167; 7. 240.

⁶ Ib. 8. 698.

⁷ Ib. 6. 69; 8. 720; 12. 840.

⁸ See for instance Plautus *Captivi* 5. 421, where the slave says
*Vidi ego multa saepe picta, quae Acherunti fierent
Cruciamenta.*

The fierce invective of the third book of Lucretius is really evidence for,

Greeks and Romans acknowledged a future life; the mysteries of Eleusis, if they taught no ascertainable doctrine, must at least, by the spectacles shown to the initiated, have awakened or kept alive the fears and hopes of their votaries on this subject¹; the traditions which go under the name of Orphic, whatever their origin, appear to have contained ideas which took root both in poetry and in philosophy. Philosophers, if we except the Epicureans and the schools which they represented, gave encouragement on the whole to one or other of the popular forms in which a belief in the future world was manifested, and by the time which we are now considering the air was full of fancies and theories, some crude and popular, others in various degrees philosophical, on the state of mankind after death. Popular, as apart from philosophical, speculation appears to

not against, a widely-spread belief in immortality among his countrymen. The ordinary funeral rites and the cultus of the Manes point the same way.

¹ The theory that any definite doctrine was communicated at the Eleusinia has, I suppose, been generally given up since the appearance of Lobeck's *Aglaophamus*. The passages, however, which Lobeck quotes, and others have quoted, from Pindar, Sophocles, and Isocrates, seem to me to justify the assertion made in the text, and to show that the *θέα* or spectacle which, as far as our evidence reaches, seems to have formed the main element in the Eleusinia, included some reference to the future life. I give the passages from Lobeck, *Aglaophamus*, p. 69.

Pindar fragm. (Θρήνοι 8 (102) Dissen)

Ὀλβιος ὅστις ἰδὼν ἐκείνα κοίλαν εἶσιν ὑπὸ χθόνα·
οἶδεν μὲν βίτου τελευτάν,
οἶδεν δὲ διύσδοτον ἀρχάν.

Sophocles fragm. (753 Nauck)

ὦ τρισόλβιοι

κείνοι βροτῶν, οἳ ταῦτα δερχθέντες τέλη
μόλωσ' ἐς Αἴδου· τοῖσδε γὰρ μόνοις ἐκεῖ
ζῆν ἐστί· τοῖς δ' ἄλλοισι πάντ' ἐκεῖ κακά.

Isocrates *Panegy.* p. 48 (τελετή) ἧς οἱ μετέχοντες περί τε τῆς τοῦ βίου τελευτῆς καὶ τοῦ σύμπαντος αἰῶνος ἡδίου τὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχουσι. Cicero *Legg.* 2. § 36 translates this last passage: *Nam mihi cum multa eximia divinaque videntur Athenae tuae peperisse, tum nihil melius illis mysteriis, quibus ex agresti immanique vita exculi ad humanitatem et mitigati sumus. Initiaque ut appellantur, ita re vera principia vitae cognovimus, neque solum cum lactitia vivendi rationem accepimus, sed etiam cum spe meliore moriendi.* I quote this passage merely as showing that the way in which literary men viewed the Eleusinia did not alter from the time of Isocrates to that of Cicero. 'Die Eleusinien,' says Zeller, 'waren . . . von wesentlicher Bedeutung für den Zustand nach dem Tode' (*Philosophie der Griechen*, i. p. 54).

have taken two distinct lines in this matter from a very early time. On the one hand, we find the simple idea of a retribution in another world for the course of life, good or evil, pursued in this. This idea is not developed, indeed we hardly find the germs of it, in the Homeric poems, but by the time of Plato it had assumed considerable clearness and consistency, and was from thenceforward the common inheritance of literature. Side by side with this idea was another less popular and simple, the origin of which in Greece is obscure, but which was old enough to have enchained the imagination of Pindar and Empedocles,—the doctrine of the transmigration of souls. This theory was capable of a popular form (if indeed it was not, as Lobeck and Zeller think, derived from the hierophants of the Orphic mysteries¹), but it was capable also of filiation from the philosophical doctrine of the *anima mundi*, or the unity of spirit pervading all forms of existence. Taken strictly, the doctrine of transmigration was incommensurate with, if not contradictory to, the theory of eternal rewards and punishments and a localized Elysium and Tartarus, which we find, taken probably from the popular beliefs among which he lived, in the myths with which Plato concludes his Gorgias, Phaedo, and Republic. Yet we find that not only Pindar, from whom, as a poet, consistency cannot be exacted, but Plato, in his expositions

¹ See the chapter *De Migratione Animarum* in Lobeck's *Aglaophamus* (p. 795 foll.), and for a general treatment of this question Zeller, *Philosophie der Griechen*, i. p. 53-61.

The following passages from the fragments of the *Θρῆνοι* of Pindar are worth quoting as throwing light on the sixth Aeneid. The references are to Dissen's edition.

Fragm. 2 (96)

Ὀλβία δ' ἅπαντες αἴσα λυσίπονον [μετανίσσονται] τελευτάν.
καὶ σῶμα μὲν πάντων ἔπεται θανάτῳ περισθενεῖ,
ζῶν δ' ἔτι λείπεται αἰῶνος εἶδωλον· τὸ γάρ ἐστι μόνον
ἐκ θεῶν.

Fragm. 4 (98)

Οἴσι δὲ Φερσεφόνα ποινὰν παλαιοῦ πένθεος
δέξεται, ἐς τὸν ὑπερθεὺν ἄλιον κείνων ἐνάτῳ ἔτεϊ
ἀνδιδοῖ ψυχὰς πάλιν.
ἐκ τῶν βασιλῆες ἀγανοὶ καὶ σθένει· κραιπνοὶ σοφία τε μέγιστοι
ἄνδρες αὔξοντ'· ἐς δὲ τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον ἥρωες ἀγνοὶ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων
καλεῦνται.

on this subject, unite the two theories without seriously attempting any reconciliation of them¹. The inconsistency recurs in an embarrassing shape in Vergil's sixth Aeneid; but to blame the poet for it would be to ignore the whole of his literary antecedents. The two lines of thought were ready to his hand, each far-reaching and profound, irreconcilable only as definite propositions on such matters are apt to become, because starting each from acknowledged facts they find their meeting beyond the point where our vision can follow them; one based on the unity of existence, the other on the separation of individual beings; each requiring a moral completion which could be supplied by the other; each sublime and capable of raising the poetic fancy. That Vergil should have embodied both in his sixth Aeneid is only what we should have expected of him. More than any other poet, Vergil was careful to let no idea escape him which is capable of poetic treatment. Accordingly, we find the first part of the sixth Aeneid taken up with the mythological form of the popular beliefs; the neutral region assigned to those whose life had been cut off, without fault of their own, before its time²; the region of eternal punishment

¹ For instance in the Phaedo and at the end of the Republic. It is worth while to quote here what Zeller says of Empedocles (*Philosophie*, etc. i. p. 653) 'Anders verhält es sich mit gewissen religiösen Lehren und Vorschriften, welche theils dem dritten Buche des physikalischen Lehrgedichts, theils und besonders den Katharmen entnommen, mit den wissenschaftlichen Grundsätzen unseres Physikers in keiner sichtbaren Verbindung stehen . . . Liegen aber auch seine religiösen und seine physikalischen Lehren in Einer Richtung, so hat es doch unser Philosoph unterlassen, einen wissenschaftlichen Zusammenhang zwischen ihnen herzustellen, oder auch nur ihre Vereinbarkeit nachzuweisen.' (p. 657) 'Es bleibt mithin nur die Annahme übrig, er habe die Lehre von der Seelenwanderung, und was damit zusammenhängt, aus der orphisch-pythagoräischen Überlieferung aufgenommen, ohne diese Glaubensartikel mit seinen an einem andern Ort und in einem andern Zusammenhang vorgetragenen philosophischen Überzeugungen wissenschaftlich zu verknüpfen.'

² This seems the simplest explanation of the fact that the souls of infants are represented in Vergil as on the threshold of Orcus, succeeded next by those of suicides, of the unjustly condemned, of the victims of unrequited love, and of warriors fallen in battle. (Aen. 6. 425 foll.) There are traces of a notion that a full term of life ended by a natural or honourable death was a necessary condition of a complete admission into the under-world. The ghost in Plautus' *Mostellaria* (2. 2. 67) says: *Nam me Acheruntem*

and the abode of the blessed. Then Anchises is introduced¹ expounding the sublime doctrine that one spirit pervades all existence and all forms of life, that individual lives derive from this their separate being, that the body is a prison-house, death the liberation from it, that guilt is purged after death until the flame of heavenly aether is left pure, that after this purgation the emancipated soul returns again to its embodiment on earth. The whole picture is unfinished, but it is impossible not to recognise that in its main outlines the conception is that embodied in the myths of Plato. The ordinary popular mythology is put side by side with the doctrine of transmigration, and the reader is left to harmonize them as he can. His logical instincts may not be satisfied, but more than satisfaction is given to his imagination.

The introduction of the doctrines of transmigration and purification suggest at once a relation between the sixth Aeneid and the traditions which went in Greece by the name of Orphic; a relation which may be shown to exist, I think, by other details. It has been noticed as a strange fact that Vergil makes no mention of Homer either in the sixth Aeneid, where he well might have done so (as Silius in his thirteenth book afterwards did) or elsewhere. The difficulty may, I think, be partly explained by the consideration that Vergil evidently felt himself more indebted to the Orphic than to the Homeric poems. From the Homeric poems indeed he borrowed an infinite mass

recipere Orcus noluit, Quia praemature vita careo. Compare Vergil's language about Dido at the end of the fourth book: *Nam quia nec fato, merita nec morte peribat, Nondum illi flavum Proserpina vertice crinem Abstulerat,* etc. Tertullian *de Anima* (56) says: *Aiunt et immatura morte praeventas eo usque vagari istic, donec reliquatio compleatur aetatum quas tum pervixissent si non intempestive obiissent.* Vergil seems to have been influenced by some idea of this kind. The lines 6. 431-434

Nec vero hae sine sorte datae, sine iudice, sedes :

Quaesitor Minos urnam movet ; ille silentum

Conciliumque vocat vitasque et crimina discit,

stand in no intelligible relation to the context in which our tradition has placed them. They would be far better in place after v. 627.

¹ Aen. 6. 724 foll. Lobeck in the chapter above quoted has noticed the Orphic character of this passage: the word *rota* for circle of time (v. 748) seems, although Servius says *rotam volvere* is *sermo Ennianus*, to recall the use of the Greek *κύκλος* or *τρόχος* in the same sense, as Lobeck observes.

of detail and outward adornment; but for those deeper ideas which gave fuller satisfaction to his contemplative and religious temper he would search them in vain. The two bards whom he mentions by name in the sixth Aeneid are Orpheus and Musaeus¹. The story of Orpheus had fascinated his imagination before he wrote the sixth Aeneid²; but the motive, so to speak, of his mentioning them there seems to have been their connection with the Orphic and Eleusinian mysteries. Athenian tradition commonly spoke of the two priestly poets together, and though the Orphic mysteries were distinct from those of Eleusis, the later Greek representations of the underworld constantly exhibit points of association with both. To these mysteries then the sixth Aeneid may be said to stand in a poetical relation. The story of the initiation of Heracles (see note on p. 105) at Eleusis may well have been present to Vergil's thoughts, as there can be no doubt that in more than one point he represents Aeneas here as Heracles' counterpart³. In general it may be said the sixth Aeneid reflects in a poetry rare, exquisite,

¹ Aen. 6. 645, 667. In Plato's *Apology*, 41, Socrates wishes 'Ορφέϊ ξυγενέσθαι καὶ Μουσαίῳ καὶ Ἡσιόδῳ καὶ Ὀμήρῳ. For the connection of the names of Orpheus and Musaeus with the under-world see Plato *Republic*, 2. p. 364 E. In his tenth book (c. 28) Pausanias describes a picture which he saw at Delphi by Polygnotus, representing the descent of Odysseus into Hades. It is hardly possible to make out any minute resemblance between the scenes given in this picture and those of the sixth Aeneid, especially as from Pausanias' description it is difficult to gather the arrangement of the different departments of the picture. It is clear, however, that the painter combined elements of the Eleusinian and Orphic traditions with the mythology of the eleventh Odyssey. Parricide and sacrilege are represented as punished; among the figures described are Orpheus (with other poets, but not Homer) and a maiden Cleoboea, who ἔχει ἐν τοῖς γόνασι κιβωτὸν ὁποίας ποιεῖσθαι νομίζουσι Δημητρί. Among the figures represented as suffering punishment are some whom Pausanias conjectured to be τῶν τὰ δράμενα Ἐλευσίῃ ἐν οὐδενὸς θεμένων λόγῳ· οἱ γὰρ ἀρχαιότεροι τῶν Ἑλλήνων τελετὴν τὴν Ἐλευσινίαν πάντων, ὅποσα ἐς εὐσέβειαν ἦκει, τοσοῦτ' ἦγον ἐντιμότερον ὄσφ καὶ θεοῦ ἔμπροσθεν ἡρώων. Musaeus was den Inhalt der ihm zugeschriebenen Orakel betrifft als hinsichtlich der übrigen Poesieen und Traditionen' (Preller, *Griechische Mythologie*, vol. ii. p. 294). Teuffel's assertion (*Geschichte der Röm. Literatur*, 2. p. 494), that the sixth Aeneid is a mere copy of the eleventh Odyssey, is surprising.

² See the end of the fourth Georgic.

³ Thus Heracles was represented as wishing to strike the ghosts with his sword, as Aeneas is, Aen. 6. 293.

luminous, majestic, the tangled growth of ideas, mythical, mystical, and philosophical, which had sprung up between the times represented by the *Odyssey* and those of Vergil, and that it would have been quite impossible for a poet of the Augustan age to have returned to the simpler notions of the Homeric period.

Before bringing these remarks to a close it may be observed that the sixth *Aeneid* shows signs of the tacit protest against Lucretius of which the great passage in the second *Georgic* gives, as it were, the keynote. In several points of form Vergil, in the book which we are now considering, draws his materials from the third book of Lucretius, and it is instructive to observe how he has used them. Lucretius, writing with fierce vehemence against the current notions of immortality, reduces the terrors of the unseen world to the tortures of conscience felt in this world; the restless passions and alarms of life, the diseases of the mind, have their origin, says he, in the fear of death, and with that fear they can be extirpated. Vergil adopts the expressions of Lucretius¹, but personifies his ideas: the gates of hell, which to Lucretius are a metaphor, are to Vergil a reality, the diseases of the mind, the pangs of conscience, described by Lucretius in simple and natural terms, are for Vergil's imagination shapes resting before the threshold of Orcus. In this manner does Vergil here, as in other cases, pay, as a poet, his tribute of homage to the greatest of his predecessors in Latin poetry.

The sum of what has been said is that the main thread of ideas running through the *Aeneid* is Roman, but that its form is that of the Greek epic, and much of the spirit of its action is that of the Greek tragedy: that the *Aeneid* reflects in a poetical form the multitude of beliefs which thronged the literary atmosphere of Rome at the end of the Republic and the beginning of the Empire, and is in this way the most complete and classical monument of its age. Roman poetry before Vergil had been either comparatively rude, as in the case of Ennius,

¹ See Conington's commentary on the sixth book, and compare further Lucretius 3. 459 foll. with *Aen.* 6. 273 foll.

or, where it had attained real beauty of form, had been comparatively personal ; for Catulus is a poet of lyric and lampoon, and Lucretius the prophet of a particular school. In Vergil (as, though in a less degree, in Horace) there is a note of universality which we look for in vain in the works of his predecessors. The elements with which he had to work were floating and discordant, but his was the harmonious soul which by its own influence was powerful to charm chaos into order and the forms of beauty. Hence the popularity of Vergil at his own time¹, and his influence on so many of the great poets who have succeeded him.

¹ Tacitus, *Dialogus* 13 *Testis ipse populus, qui auditis in theatro versibus Vergilii surrexit universus, et forte praesentem spectantemque Vergilium veneratus est tanquam Augustum.*

VII.

HORACE.

(1) LIFE AND POEMS.

(PUBLIC LECTURE, October Term, 1883.)

‘Place Milton’s sonnets in relation to the circumstance on which each piece turns, and we begin to feel the superiority for poetic effect of real emotion over emotion meditated and revived. History has in it that which can touch us more abidingly than any fiction.’—Pattison, *Milton* pp. 169–170.

To attempt to say anything new about Horace may seem absurd. But it is a characteristic of philological and historical study that the same subject admits of being viewed from different points, and this is peculiarly true in the case of a great poet. As there is no one way of rendering Shakspeare or Beethoven, so there is no final interpretation of a great literary work. What I wish now to attempt is to present the life and writings of Horace in their historical setting; in other words, to show both what was the attitude of the poet towards the world in which he lived, and how his own studies tended to produce the form of poetry which has made him a classic. I shall hope to show that it was because of the greatness in him that he rose to his lofty eminence; that it was because his sympathies followed the fortunes of his country that his best poetry has the stamp of moral greatness; that it was because his eye was fixed on great models, because he chose to dwell in mind and imagination with great men, that his writings attained their immortal perfection of form.

The question whether it is better for literature or not that literary men should throw themselves into the stream of contemporary life, whether, for instance, Milton's poetry gained or lost by his political pre-occupations, is not so important for the historian of literature as it may at first sight appear. It may, however, be safely said that no poetry which is not rooted in the life of the time is likely to live outside the narrow circle of critics. The mere admiration of beautiful form in literature, the mere desire to imitate and re-create it, may produce good poetry, but it will never produce, and never has produced, classical poetry. It has been well said that all that is classical has once been romantic. Changing the phrase a little, we may say that nothing is classical which has not been living. If Aeschylus had not fought at Salamis, or at least if his heart had not been with those who fought there, we should probably have had a very different *Agamemnon*. The *Paradise Lost* and the *Samson Agonistes* would now have been read only by the curious in literature, had they not embodied the lofty passion and patriotic aspiration of Milton's soul. Whatever attitude a great poet may assume with regard to active life, he cannot help echoing the thoughts of his age. He is a great poet precisely because he is in sympathy with those thoughts, and because he is master enough to express them. It may or may not be his mission to think and speak only, while others act; but the character of his work, the foundation of his greatness, must remain the same.

For great poetry is after all only that which seizes upon, and sums up, and gives perfect embodiment to, what is best and most permanent in the expressed ideas and tendencies of the poet's age. The great poet does not, like the great philosopher, attempt to summarize in form and refer, if possible, to one principle, the whole body of the knowledge and experience which his age presents to him, but he is none the less the mouth-piece, perhaps unconsciously, but no less truly, of its noblest thoughts. To the poet himself the form into which his thoughts are cast may be the most important thing. To the

gathered experience of the past and present he endeavours to give perfect utterance. His apprehension of that experience is passionate, not logical, instinctive, not reasoned: his expression of it the most harmonious that long study can work out: and in this sense it has been truly said that poetry is the best thought expressed in the best language.

All poetry that has become classical has the note of comprehensiveness and penetration which I have endeavoured to characterize. When once it recognises this quality in a poet's work, the world, whatever may be his shortcomings in other respects, has no doubt in what rank to place him. Hence it is that in the sphere of Latin literature the general verdict has been in favour of Vergil and Horace as against Lucretius, Catullus, and Ovid, although in points of detail graver literary charges may perhaps be brought against Vergil and Horace than against any of the other three.

The genius of Latin poetry was always historical; in its best days it never lost its hold upon real life. What gives it its power and originality is that it is always the reflection of the Roman world. And, with all its shortcomings, the Roman world was a greater social and political phenomenon than the Hellenic. Its growth marked a real progress in the history of civilization. It is easy to represent the Roman as dominated mainly by the love of conquest. Of this passion no doubt they had enough and to spare, but they did a work in the world which implies the possession of better qualities. The ancient Italians borrowed some vices from the Hellenes, but they added to the code of public and private ethics some elements unknown to Greece. Compared with the Greeks, the Celts, and the Germans, the Romans need no apology from the historian. It may fairly be said of the Roman empire that, through all its tragical course of ambition, discord, and violence, it made the first attempt known to European history at uniting great masses of men upon social and rational principles. The ancient Italians taught Europe how a city might develop into a state. With all their speculative power, the Hellenes were incapable of effectively

conceiving such an idea. The Hellenic philosophers were often in a position of violent antagonism to their social and political surroundings, but their philosophy did not succeed in curing the radical vices of Greek politics. Demosthenes may have been a greater orator than Cicero, but in Rome the need of a Demosthenes could never have arisen. Incapable of metaphysical subtlety, superficial, and comparatively rude in philosophical culture, the upper classes of Rome and Italy nevertheless absorbed many of the lessons of Greek philosophy into the history which they were making. They were strong and patient enough to work out the great practical problem of the rational organization of human life. The greatness of the Roman empire lay in this, that it stood alone among the powers of antiquity in its endeavour to give effect to this idea: to combine power with freedom; not merely to govern, but to organize. It is not the majesty of the system that is imposing so much as its continuous life and its cohesion. *Nostra res publica*, said Cato, *non unius est ingenio, sed multorum, nec una hominis vita, sed aliquot constituta saeculis et aetatibus*¹.

The growth of the ancient Italian poetry, from its beginning to its perfection, was slow, but it proceeded clearly on one line. This literature starts with rude expression and superficial thought; as it develops the thought becomes deeper, the expression more refined and significant. In lyric poetry Horace represents, as Vergil does in epic, the highest ideas which the national life of the Roman empire was capable of inspiring.

As the conception of the Aeneid ripened slowly in Vergil's mind, so it seems to have been with the best lyrics of Horace. Indeed it would appear to have been partly an accident that Horace took to writing poetry at all. He tells us, over and over again, that he was naturally indolent. His father was a *coactor exactioinum*², that is, a collector of the payments at auctions, acting under the *praeco* or auctioneer³. Horace was born in

¹ Quoted by Cicero, *De Republica*, 2. § 2.

² Suetonius.

³ Acron on 1 Sat. 6. 85 *praecocones dicebantur qui stabant ad hastam et enuntiabant pretia adlata, coactores autem mercennarii eorum . . . Coactores dicuntur argentarii in auctionibus qui pecunias cogunt.*

65 B.C.¹, two years before Cicero's consulship, and five years after the birth of Vergil. His father gave him a superior education², sending him to the best master of the day, Orbilius of Beneventum, who had come to Rome two years after Horace was born. In the class-rooms of Orbilius the boy found himself in the society of young nobles and *equites*. Orbilius was an older contemporary of Cicero, and, like all the schoolmasters of his generation, brought up his boys to learn, and, if possible, to admire, the ancient Italian poets³. There is no sign that Horace ever liked these poets; indeed in his later days he tried to write them down. Who knows whether it was the ferule of Orbilius that gave him an invincible distaste for them? After his schooling was over Horace went in the ordinary course of things to Athens⁴, and here, in his twenty-fourth year (42 B.C.), his life may be said to begin.

The civil war had broken out between Antonius and the murderers of Caesar. Horace was taken up by Brutus, who gave him an appointment in his army as *tribunus militum*⁵. The earliest allusion in his writings is to this time; in the seventh epistle of the first book he describes a scene between two litigants before the tribunal of Brutus at Clazomenae. The battle of Philippi followed, and with it the ruin of the republican party. Horace's little patrimony was confiscated by the triumvirs, and without any hope of redress such as was open to Vergil and Propertius. He was pardoned, however, and managed to obtain an appointment as clerk in a quaestor's office⁶.

His ambition, however, did not rest here. Conscious of his genius, and hampered by poverty in the race of life⁷, he determined to bring himself into notice by writing verses. His

¹ Epod. 13. 6 *vina Torquato . . . consule pressa meo.*

² 1 Sat. 6. 72.

³ 2 Epist. 1. 69.

⁴ 2 Epist. 2. 43.

⁵ 1 Sat. 6. 48.

⁶ Suetonius: *victis partibus venia impetrata scriptum quaestorium comparavit.*

⁷ 2 Epist. 2. 50 *Decisis humilem pinnis inopemque paterni
Et laris et fundi paupertas impulit audax
Ut versus facerem.*

earliest attempts were, in all probability, lampoons, such as we are familiar with in the remaining works of Calvus and Catullus, and in the poems of the Pseudo-Vergilian *Catalepton*¹. Some of these early lampoons may have survived among the Epodes, in which Horace consciously imitates the manner of Archilochus and Hipponax². The eighth, eleventh, twelfth, and fifteenth are the poems of a young man, and the eleventh and fifteenth distinctly complain of his poverty as putting him at a disadvantage with his mistresses. The eleventh mentions love-poems which he had once written, but which he now intended to give up. The sixth³ is a lampoon upon some enemy unnamed, who, according to the scholiasts, was Cassius Severus: the fifth and the sixteenth contain his quarrel and mock reconciliation with Gratidia, a lady for whom, with the consideration not unusual at his time, he invented the pseudonym Canidia. Maevius, the enemy both of Horace and Vergil, is attacked in the tenth Epode.

These poems, though not, so far as we know, published until the Epodes were collected and brought out just after the battle of Actium, may fairly be taken as specimens of Horace's earliest manner. It must be observed that, metrically considered, they are perfect. The iambic adopted by Horace is the light and rapid verse which bore the name of Archilochus⁴. This differed from the tragic or comic iambic in its comparative freedom from spondees and their equivalents. In these early lampoons Horace occasionally writes pure iambs (*Mala soluta navis exit alite, Ut horridis utrumque verberes latus*), but he by no means ties himself to this rule. The main difference between

¹ 1 Od. 16. 22

*Me quoque pectoris
Temptavit in dulci iuventa
Fervor, et in celeres iambs
Misit furentem.*

² Epod. 6. 13 *Qualis Lycambae spretus infido gener,
Aut acer hostis Bupalò.*

¹ Epist. 19. 23

*Parios ego primus iambs
Ostendi Latio, numeros animosque secutus
Archilochi, non res et agentia verba Lycamben.
Quid inmerentes hospites vexas, canis, etc.*

⁴ See the following essay on the *De Arte Poetica*, note 1, pp. 180-181.

his iambic and that of the dramatists is this, that he avoids dactyls and anapaests, does not overload his lines with spondees, and disregards at pleasure the rule generally observed in the Latin dramatic verse, that the fifth foot of the iambic must be either an anapaest or a spondee. His hexameter is the hexameter of Varro Atacinus and of Vergil, and is, in the Epodes, as perfectly developed as Vergil's is in his earliest Eclogues; indeed, in the matter of elisions, Horace is much more particular than Vergil.

As far as we know, he published nothing till after his introduction to Maecenas, which must have taken place in 40 or 39 B.C.¹ His first publication was the first book of the Satires, the last satire of which must be later than the publication of Vergil's Eclogues², and this is generally assigned to 36 or 35 B.C.

What were Horace's aims, literary or other, in writing *saturae*? And what does the first book reveal with regard to his studies, and his attitude towards men and things?

The *satura* had, since the time of Ennius and Pacuvius, assumed one of two forms. It had either retained, as in the hands of Varro of Reate, its original character of a kindly sketch of life and character, thrown for the most part into the form of a dialogue: or it had, as with Lucilius, Albucius, and perhaps others, assumed the character of social and political invective. Varro of Atax³, who, to all appearance, originated the Vergilian form of hexameter, had made some attempt—Horace says without success—towards improving the form of the *satura*. We learn from Porphyryon⁴ that Julius Florus was a writer of *saturae*, who had made selections from Ennius, Lucilius, and Varro. It is most unfortunate that nothing has remained to show us what conception these writers, undoubtedly

¹ Horace was introduced to Maecenas by Vergil (1 Sat. 6. 54), and Vergil was first acquainted with Maecenas in 41 B.C.

² *Molle atque facetum
Vergilio adnuerunt gaudentes rure Camenae* (vv. 44-5).

³ 1 Sat. 10. 46

*Hoc erat, experto frustra Varrone Atacino,
Atque quibusdam aliis, melius quod scribere possem.*

⁴ On 1 Epist. 3. 1 *cuius sunt electae ex Ennio, Lucilio, Varrone saturae.*

talented and accomplished, had formed of their task. But we may in any case be quite sure that Horace, daring and original as he was in his Epodes and Odes, was equally independent in his notions of what a *satura* should be. He indicates indeed that he thinks Lucilius the great master in this branch of literature. He borrows from him as all ancient writers borrowed from each other. But he is quite independent of him, and quite willing to criticize his rudeness and want of finish. Nor, it is evident, was Horace's idea of the *satura* the same as that of Lucilius. Even had it been so, it is difficult to see how Horace could have realized it, for until he had been for some years in the circle of Maecenas he could hardly have come much into contact with the great statesmen of his day. As compared, again, with Catullus, Horace was socially at a great disadvantage. Catullus was¹, from the time when he came to Rome, in the society of the Metelli, Cicero, Hortensius, and the leaders of the republican party. From this position he was free to express his likes and dislikes in any form which appeared to him to be most effective, and no one needs to be told how he used his advantage. That the time at which Horace was writing his early satires was unfavourable to freedom of speech; that it was then in any way dangerous to indulge in personalities of a literary kind, I do not think that there is any evidence; nor am I convinced by Professor Arthur Palmer's arguments on the other side in his recent excellent edition of Horace's Satires. It must always be remembered that the Augustan age, properly so called, cannot be said to begin until after the battle of Actium (31 B.C.). Dio² remarks, indeed, that the ἀκριβῆς μοναρχία, or monarchy in the strict sense of the term, did not commence until January B.C. 27, when Octavianus received the title of Augustus. The years between the death of Julius Caesar and the battle of Actium are a kind of historical No Man's Land. They may be assigned with equal justice to the republic or to the empire. There was as yet no court to overawe the petulance

¹ See p. 88.² 53. 17.

or daunt the courage of the satirist. That any restraint was put upon freedom of expression during this period I see no proof. Mr. Palmer goes so far, indeed, as to revive the hypothesis that Horace's names in the Satires are to a great extent fictitious; that Catus stands for Matius, Cervius for Servius, and so on: that *Arellius* was suggested by *aridus*, *Avidienus* by *avidus*, *Pantilius* by *πᾶν τῖλλειν*. But these names are genuinely Latin, and *Pantilius*, which Mr. Palmer says he has not found elsewhere, is preserved in two good inscriptions¹. If Mr. Palmer is right, it is strange that Horace should not also have disguised the names of Maevius, Tigellius Hermogenes, and Tigellius Sardus, all of whom are known to have been historical personages. We are all apt to be influenced by phrases, and the phrase 'Augustan age' is responsible for a great deal of incorrect historical drawing. Nothing can be more erroneous than to speak of the few years which preceded the battle of Actium in the same breath with the age of Juvenal, when literature, the natural heritage of the aristocracy and the *equites*, was suffering alternately from imperial patronage and imperial repression.

I am not, of course, denying the absence of politics from Horace's *saturae*; but I am not inclined to account for it by any reference to the political circumstances of the time. Several of the Satires of the first book were in all probability written before Horace had emerged from his social obscurity into the circle of Maecenas. This fact is quite sufficient to account for the tone of the book, even had Horace wished to make his *satura* political.

But I doubt whether in any case he would have wished to do so. It is quite clear that he disapproved of much in the writing of Lucilius. That he was offended by his rudeness and want of finish he says expressly; and he hints, not obscurely², that he had no great sympathy with the coarser side of the Old Comedy. In his hands the *satura* was to be something lighter,

¹ *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, 9. 5277, 10. 5925.

² 1 Sat. 4. 1, 10. 7 foll.

more versatile, more humane ; the colours softer, more various, truer to the complexity of nature. Whether the external history of the *satura* be considered, or the true spirit of literature, which is always on the side of light and sweetness, there can scarcely be a doubt that Horace was in the right.

While the first book of *Saturae* or *Sermones* shows Horace, in his thirtieth year, to have been a careful student and critic of Lucilius, it also gives some interesting glimpses into the philosophical creed of his youth. He was at this time a pronounced Epicurean. In the first Satire¹ he gibes at Fabius and Crispinus. If we may believe Porphyrius, Fabius Maximus of Narbo was the author of some books on the Stoic philosophy (*aliquot libros ad Stoicam philosophiam pertinentes*). Plotius Crispinus appears to have attempted to put some of the Stoical doctrines into verse. We may add that Horace seems, in the second Satire of the first book², to quote the well-known Epicurean philosopher Philodemus with some approval ; and that in the fifth Satire he expressly avows his Epicurean sentiments : *namque deos didici securum agere aevum*. *Didici* : in what school had Horace learned ? Was it that of Siron, the influence of which was, as I have elsewhere pointed out³, at one time so strong upon Vergil ? It is interesting, in any case, to observe that it was the Epicurean and not the Stoic philosophy which left its traces on the writings of Lucretius, Vergil, and Horace⁴.

It is uncertain whether the Epodes were published before or after the second book of the Satires. Neither book saw the light until after the battle of Actium, some five years after the

¹ vv. 14. 120.

² v. 121.

³ Ancient Lives of Vergil, pp. 37 foll. Life of Vergil in Conington's edition, vol. I. p. xix (fourth edition).

⁴ In 1 Sat. 3. 96 foll. Horace gives succinctly the Epicurean theory of the origin of civilization :

*Quis paria esse fere placuit peccata, laborant,
Cum ventum ad verum est ; sensus moresque repugnant,
Atque ipsa utilitas, iusti prope mater et aequi.
Cum prorepserunt primis animalia terris,
Mutum et turpe pecus, glandem atque cubilia propter
Unguibus et pugnis, dein fustibus, atque ita porro
Pugnabant armis, quae post fabricaverat usus, etc.*

publication of the first book of Satires. But the Epodes, and with them certain of the Odes, must be considered first, as containing writing which is certainly older than anything in the second book. I am inclined to think that Horace, after he had been finally admitted into the circle of Maecenas, and was now in easier circumstances and in better society, began to take more interest in the public events going on around him. The fourth Epode must have been written either in 37 B.C. or 36, before the final struggle of Octavianus and Agrippa against Sextus Pompeius. It is a vigorous lampoon upon a *parvenu* officer on the side of Octavianus. Porphyrius says that the victim was Pompeius Mena; the Pseudo-Acron mentions Vedius Rufus. Pompeius was defeated, but the aspect of the East remained threatening for the next seven years. The defeat of Oppius Stavianus by the Medes and Parthians in 36 B.C. was an evil omen for what was to follow, and three years afterwards (33) the Roman troops were withdrawn from the East to take part in the civil war. On the west the Suevi crossed the Rhine: on the east Phraates overran Media and Armenia. For the next seven years or so we have continuous allusions in the poems of Horace to the troubled state of his country, all sounding, in tones which can never be forgotten, the accents of an exalted patriotism. In one or two instances I can, I think, show that new light is thrown by these poems on the relations of Rome with the nations of the West.

In 33 and 32 B.C., then, the empire was in great peril. Civil war was imminent, and the frontiers on east and west exposed to the enemy. The seventh Epode, *Quo quo scelesti ruitis?* is a pathetic and classical expression of the feeling of a patriotic Roman in the prospect of a new civil war. The curse of Romulus and Remus, says the poet, is upon their children: *Sic est: acerba fata Romanos agunt, Scelusque fraternae necis, Ut immerentis fluxit in terram Remi Sacer nepotibus cruor.* A little later, the civil strife having now broken out, comes the sixteenth Epode, *Altera iam teritur bellis civilibus aetas.* The

lofty appeal of this poem, the perfection of its narrative, the pathos of its allegorical reminiscence of the story of Phocaea, the rapidity of its hexameter alternating with the strictest Archilochean iambic, raise it to the very highest rank among compositions of its class.

The second Ode of the first book probably also belongs to this period. A great deal of difficulty has been made about it, owing to the fact that the commentators have thought it necessary to fix the date of the inundation of the Tiber which it mentions. But the inundation of the Tiber need trouble us no more than an inundation of the Isis at the present day, if we look at the poem in its length and breadth. The situation is clear enough. The empire is falling¹; the citizens are turning against each other the arms which had better have been turned against the Parthians. To what period are such expressions, and indeed the whole tone of the piece, better suited than the years of which we are speaking? We should probably assign to the same period the beautiful Ode², *O navis, referent in mare te novi Fluctus*? if, that is, Quintilian³ is right in explaining it allegorically.

The twenty-sixth Ode of the first book has a direct allusion to the events of B.C. 32, *quis sub Arcto Rex gelidæ metuatur oræ, Quid Tiridaten terreat, unice Securus*. The reference, no doubt, is to the alliance of Phraates with the Scythians. A black cloud was hanging over the horizon, East and North in formidable combination. So in the nineteenth Ode again Horace speaks of *Scythas Et versis animosum equis Parthum*, and in other places we shall find the Scythians or Geloni alluded to in a tone of alarm.

¹ vv. 21 foll. *Audiet cives acuisse ferrum,
Quo graves Persæ melius perirent,
Audiet pugnas vitio parentum
Rara inventus.
Quem vocet Divum populus ruentis
Imperi rebus?*

² l. 14.

³ 8. 6. 44 *Totus ille Horatii locus, quo navem pro re publica, fluctus et tempestates pro bellis civilibus, portum pro pace et concordia dixit.*

The next year, B. C. 31, brought with it the decision of the great struggle between Octavianus and Antonius. Was Horace at the battle of Actium? It is difficult not to refer the first Epode, *Ibis Liburnis inter alta navium Amice, propugnacula*, to Actium; it is difficult, if we do so, to suppose that Horace was not at the battle. But the solution of this question depends to a great extent on our interpretation of the ninth Epode, *Quando repostum Caecubum*.

As usually printed, this poem presents a great difficulty. It begins with expressing doubt about the issue of the battle, and it ends by saying that the battle is over. Now it is worth observing that in one of the better manuscripts¹ a new poem begins at v. 27 *Terra marique victus*. There is a great deal to be said for this arrangement, as it is clear, in any case, that these lines must refer to the time immediately following the defeat of Antonius. The words, *Aut ille centum nobilem Cretam urbibus Ventis iturus non suis, Exercitatas aut petit Syrtes noto, Aut fertur incerto mari*, coincide exactly with the account of Dio², οὐ γὰρ πω σαφές τι ὄπη διεπεφεύγει ἐπέπυστο. Again, what can Horace mean by saying, *Vel quod fluentem nauseam coerceat Metire nobis Caecubum?* Either he was at sea when he wrote this, or he wished it to be thought that he was. The simplest plan is, I think, to take Horace at his word, and to suppose that he was at the battle. If so, it will follow that the whole poem was written on the scene of action, the first part (vv. 1-26) before the engagement, and the rest immediately after.

The allusions in the first part of the poem may be made out if we attend to the accounts of the battle given by other writers. vv. 17-21³ probably refer to a cavalry engagement which preceded the great contest; and if in v. 17 we read *at huc* with the Cruquian *scholia*, they present no great difficulty.

¹ Keller's *A*, a good Paris MS. of the ninth or early tenth century.

² 51. 4.

³

*Frementes verterunt bis mille equos
Galli, canentes Caesarem,
Hostiliumque navium portu latent
Puppes sinistrorsum citae.*

At Galli canentes Caesarem, id est laudantes, verterunt huc, id est ad nos transtulerunt, bis mille equos frementes. On Aeneid 6. 612, Servius says *nam transierunt ad eum duo milia equitum, per quos est victoriam consecutus.* The victory obtained by Octavianus, owing to the desertion of these two thousand cavalry to his side, cannot be the great victory, but is probably the engagement alluded to by Dio 50. 14 *ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς (ὁ Ἀντώνιος) ἵππομαχίᾳτι νὶ πρὸς τῆς τοῦ Καίσαρος προφυλακῆς ἠτήθη.* Plutarch, in his life of Antonius¹, says that the princes Amyntas and Deiotarus deserted to Caesar. Deiotarus was a Galatian, and from Dio (50. 13) it appears that Amyntas was one too. We may then safely refer Horace's *Galli* to the troops of these princes.

What then is the meaning of vv. 18-19 *Hostiliumque navium portu latent Puppae sinistrorsum citae?* I believe that it describes the position of Antonius' ships lying in the harbour before the battle, and describes it *as seen by Horace.* Plutarch says² that before the battle Antonius kept his ships in the harbour near Actium with their prows outwards.

We have thus brought Horace as far as Actium, and found him by no means destitute of interest in the great events of his time. The year 31 and the two years following drew from him a great many poems. Among the Odes written immediately after Actium we have 1. 37 (*Nunc est bibendum*), and probably also 1. 6 (*Scriberis Vario*).

In the following year (30) Phraates was restored to the Parthian throne; an event alluded to, and made the text for a moral, in the second Ode of the second book³. May we assign to the same year the thirteenth Ode of the second book? The Roman soldier is there mentioned as still dreading the Parthian, in terms hardly natural had peace been restored

¹ c. 61.

³ vv. 17 foll.

² Antonius 63.

*Redditum Cyri solio Phraaten
Dissidens plebi, numero beatorum
Eximit virtus, populumque falsis
Dedocet uti
Vocibus.*

between the two nations¹. The second and twenty-ninth Odes of the second book, and the second of the third book, are probably to be assigned to the same period.

But these Odes were not published until some years after the events to which they refer, and we must now go back to the second book of the Satires. There is nothing in this book which compels us to date it later than 29 B.C., and such historical allusions as it contains exactly suit the year of the battle of Actium and those immediately following it. *Aude Caesaris invicti res dicere*, Horace's friend is made to say in the first Satire², the reference being clearly to the time when the services of a good poet were required to commemorate the result of the great struggle. In the fifth Satire there is an allusion no less definite³, *Tempore quo iuvenis Parthis horrendus, ab alto Demissum genus Aenea, tellure marique Magnus erit*. At the end of the second Satire there is a reference to confiscations of land, with which it is clear that Horace (and naturally) has very little sympathy⁴. These confiscations are very probably those which took place after the battle of Actium.

The great chronological difficulty in this book lies in the lines (vv. 11 foll.) *nec fracta pereuntes cuspide Gallos, Aut labentis equo describat vulnera Parthi*. The allusion to the Parthians in connection with *Caesaris res* seems to point to the year 30 or 29; but about the Gauls we have but little light. Professor Palmer says 'Agrippa triumphed over the Aquitani in B.C. 38, M. Valerius Messalla triumphed over the Gauls after the battle of Actium.' But Messalla's triumph did not take place till 27 B.C. Must we then date the second book of the Satires as late as this year? It is strange, if so, that Horace should nowhere speak of Augustus, but always of

¹ *Miles sagittas (timet) et celerem fugam
Parthi, catenas Parthus et Italum
Robur.*

² v. 11.

³ vv. 62 foll.

⁴ vv. 126 foll. Comp. 2 Sat. 6, 53

*Quid? militibus promissa Triquetra
Praedia Caesar, an est Itala tellure daturus?*

Caesar: for Octavianus received the title of Augustus early in 27. In 29 B.C. the Gauls were still in arms, but were put down by Nonius Gallus¹. Augustus says himself², 'I recovered standards from Spain and Galatia and Dalmatia.' *De recuperatione signorum ab Hispanis et a Gallis*, says Mommsen on this passage, *auctores tacent*. In 34 Octavianus had meditated an expedition into Gaul and Britain³. I am disposed to think that in the passage in the *Monumentum Ancyranum* Augustus is alluding to some feat of war or diplomacy which might fairly be said to have been achieved by himself. I do not see why his words should not refer to the successes of Statilius Taurus over the Cantabrians, Vaccaei, and Astures, who were conterminous Spanish tribes, and who, by some feat of diplomacy, may have been made to give up their Roman standards. The defeat of the Treveri by Nonius Gallus in 29 may also have been the occasion of a similar success at the expense of the Gauls. In any case Horace, writing about the *res Augusti* in 29 or 28 B.C., would have been justified in mentioning the Gauls by the side of the Parthians. It would thus seem that there is no reason, so far as definite chronological allusions go, to prevent our supposing that the second book of the Satires was published in 29 or 28.

In the second book Horace shows himself a greater master of form than in the first. His *saturae* are now more dramatic. There is not one of them which is not either a scene or a conversation. The personal tone which characterizes some parts of the first book is to a great extent dropped, Horace being now materially and morally assured of his position. It may be observed also that the philosophical writing is more careful and elaborate, and the spirit of it more tolerant. The Stoics are treated with real respect, though without any indica-

¹ 51. 20 ἦσαν ἐν ὄπλοις ἔτι Τρήουεροι Κέλτους ἐπαγαγόμενοι, καὶ Κάνταβροι καὶ Οὐακκαῖοι καὶ Ἄστυρες· καὶ οὗτοι μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ταύρου τοῦ Στατιλίου, ἐκείνοι δὲ ὑπὸ Νωνίου Γάλλου κατεστράφησαν.

² *Monumentum Ancyranum*, 29, σημείας ἀπέλαβον ἐξ Ἰσπανίας καὶ Γαλατίας καὶ παρὰ Δαλματῶν.

³ Dio 49. 38.

tion of assent to their doctrines. Horace is studying Eupolis, Archilochus, Plato, and Menander¹, and there is less mention than before of Lucilius. Yet, in spite of all, it is clear that he was not content with the hexametric *satura*, which was indeed a cumbrous vehicle for conversation or dramatic sketching. In the *epistulae* he found more play for his gift of graceful raillery and expostulation, and more room also, as I shall hope to point out in due course, for the development of his earnest and imaginative view of things.

Let us now return, for a few moments, to the chronology of the Odes.

Several Odes seem to have been written in 29 B.C. I am disposed to assign to this year, or the preceding, the twenty-first of the first book, from the line *Persas atque Britannos*. The Persians or Parthians, we must suppose, were still in arms. The mention of the Britains, unless we take it to be a vague and general expression for the hostile West, creates a difficulty. In the *Monumentum Ancyranum*² Augustus mentions that he received a British prince named Dumnobellaunus. The date of the reception is unknown, but there are signs that the relations between Rome and Britain were disturbed from the year 34 (when Octavianus was intending to march against them) until 26, 25, or even later. The Romans, if we may trust Strabo, managed them by fomenting dissensions among their princes³. There is no indication that they were finally brought to terms until a few years later than this. Writing his prelude to the third Georgic in the year 29⁴, Vergil speaks of them as if they were not yet conquered.

1. 29 *Ikci, beatis nunc Arabum invides Gazis, et acrem militiam paras Non ante devictis Sabaeae Regibus, horribilique Medo Nectis catenas*. This Ode, again, may belong either to this year or the preceding one.

¹ 2 Sat. 3. 11, 12.

² c. 32.

³ Strabo 4. 5 *νυνὶ μέντοι τῶν δυναστῶν τινες τῶν αὐτοῖσι πρεσβεύουσι καὶ θεραπείαις κατασκευασάμενοι τὴν πρὸς Καίσαρα τὸν Σέβαστον φιλίαν, κ. τ. λ.*

⁴ *Utque Purpurea intexti tollant aulaea Britanni*. In his other allusions here he is much more explicit.

2. 11. *Quid bellicosus Cantaber et Scythes, Hirpine Quinti, cogitet,* etc. Dio (51. 20) says, as we have seen, of the year 29, that the Cantabrians were then still in arms. Of the Scythians we may observe that Horace may either be thinking of the Northern tribes to whom we have before alluded, or to the Bastarnae, with whom the Romans were at this time in disturbed relations.

2. 12. *Tuque pedestribus Dices historiis proelia Caesaris, Maecenas, melius ductaque per vias Regum colla minacium.* This must allude to the triple triumph of 29 B. C.

2. 16. In this year, according to Dio¹, Thrace was thrown into confusion by an invasion of the Bastarnae. It would therefore be true to say *Otium rogat . . . bello furiosa Thrace, Otium Medi pharetra decori.*

3. 8. *Occidit Daci Cotisonis agmen, Medus infestus sibi luctuosis Dissidet armis, Servit Hispanae vetus hostis orae Cantaber sera domitus catena, Iam Scythae laxo meditantur arcu Cedere campis.* The Cantabrians and Scythians are again mentioned together. No doubt Horace is referring to the defeat of the Cantabrians by Statilius Taurus in this year; the Scythians are the Northern allies of Phraates.

Thus we have nineteen Odes containing distinct references to the events of four critical years, 33–29 B. C.; and of these fourteen belong, in all probability, to 30 and 29.

To the following year, if not to 29, we may plausibly assign the twelfth Ode of the first book, *Ille seu Parthos Latio imminentes Egerit iusto domitos triumpho.* Caesar is not yet Augustus, and Marcellus, who died in 23, is still young: *Crescit occulto velut arbor aevo Fama Marcelli.*

3. 6. *Delicta maiorum immeritus lues, Romane, donec templa refeceris Aedesque labentes deorum et Foeda nigro simulacra fumo.* Mommsen assigns this poem, I think rightly, to the year 28. The restoration of the temples, the symbols of Roman religion and social order, was, as is well known, one of the chief cares of Octavianus after the final settlement of his foreign difficulties

¹ 51. 23 τόν τε Αἴμον ὑπερέβησαν, καί τὴν Θράκην τὴν Δευθελητῶν ἐνσπονδὸν αὐτοῖς κατέδραμον.

in 29. The civil wars had, as history shows that civil wars always do, ruined private morality. *Paene occupatam seditonibus Delevit urbem Dacus et Aethiops; . . . Fecunda culpa saecula nuptias Primum inquinavere et genus et domos: Hoc fonte derivata clades In patriam populumque fluxit.* Statesman and poet alike could see the evil, and had reason enough to pray for a remedy in tranquillity and order. The magnificent Ode which stands twenty-fourth in the third book (*Intactis opulentior Thesauris Arabum et divitis Indiae*) may well be assigned to the same year.

27 B. C. To this year should be assigned—

1. 35. *Serves iturum Caesarem in ultimos Orbis Britannos, et juvenum recens Examen Eois timendum Partibus Oceanoque rubro . . . O utinam nova Incude diffingas retusum in Massagetis Arabasque ferrum.* An expedition against Britain was seriously thought of in 27, and an expedition against the Massagetae or Getae was undertaken two years later. Against the Arabians Augustus sent Aelius Gallus in 26¹.

2. 6. *Septimi, Gades aditure mecum et Cantabrum indoctum iuga ferre nostra.* The allusion may be to the Cantabrian expedition planned in this year. The Cantabrians might well be called *indocti iuga ferre nostra*, as they had been conquered two years before, and were now again in arms.

2. 9. *Nova Cantemus Augusti tropaea Caesaris et rigidum Niphaten, Medumque flumen gentibus additum Victis minores volvere vortices, Intraque praescriptum Gelonos Exiguus equitare campis.* The trophies must be those won and celebrated in 29 B. C., but the name of Augustus precludes the supposition that the poem was written earlier than 27, unless indeed Horace used it in anticipation.

3. 3. *Hac arte Pollux et vagus Hercules Enisis arces attingit igneas, Quos inter Augustus recumbens Purpureo bibet ore nectar.* This Ode cannot be earlier than 27, and may belong to the next

¹ Comp. Aen. 7. 604

*Sive Getis inferre manu lacrimabile bellum,
Hyracanisve Arabisve parant.*

year, or even to 25 B. C. In his apotheosis of Augustus I cannot help thinking that Horace is glancing at the dedication of the Pantheon (25 B. C.). Agrippa, as Dio tells us¹, wished to give the statue of Augustus a place there and to name the building after him.

B. C. 25. To this year probably belong the fourth and twentieth Odes of the second book. In the first he speaks of himself as now nearly forty years old: *Cuius octavum trepidavit aetas Claudere lustrum*. In the second he seems to imply that the foreign troubles of Rome were finally settled. His fame shall be recognised by all the conquered enemies of his country: *Me Colchus et qui dissimulat metum Marsae cohortis Dacus, et ultimi Noscent Geloni, me peritus Discet Hiber Rhodanique potor*. The fourth Ode of the third book is also fixed to this year by the lines *Vos Caesarem altum, militia simul Fessas cohortes abdidit oppidis*, which probably refer to the foundation of Augusta Emerita and Augusta Praetoria².

3. 14. *Caesar Hispana repetit Penates Victor ab ora*. This must have been written at the end of 25 or the beginning of 24 B. C., a date which exactly suits the lines *Lenit albescens animos capillus Litium et rixae cupidos protervae*.

B. C. 24. If Jerome's statement³ about the death of Quintilius Varus be correct, the beautiful Ode *Quis desiderio sit pudor aut modus* (I. 24) must belong to this year.

3. 5. *Praesens divus habebitur Augustus, adiectis Britannis Imperio gravibusque Persis*. The Britains, according to Dio⁴, were still unsubdued in the year 26. With regard to the Parthians we learn from Dio⁵ that in 23 an embassy came to Rome, consisting of Tiridates in person and envoys from Phraates. Augustus sent back the son of Phraates on condition that the Parthians restored the Roman captives, and the standards of Crassus and Antonius. That this Ode was written soon

¹ 53. 27.

² Dio 53. 25, 26.

³ A. Abr. 1995 *Quintilius Cremonensis Vergili et Horati familiaris moritur*.

⁴ 53. 25.

⁵ 53. 33.

after the conclusion of this agreement with the Parthians I cannot doubt. A special significance is thus given, to the historical allegory based on the story of Regulus, which forms the body of the poem. And we may fairly conclude that some submission of the Britains to Rome must have taken place about this time, or not long before.

I have proceeded throughout on the supposition that the historical allusions in Horace are intentionally definite; and, if the calculations attempted are correct, it will appear that by far the greatest number of Odes in the first three books, which admit of being dated at all, should be assigned to the eventful years 33-29 B. C. The whole three books fall within the ten years 33-23¹. They represent the national feeling, passing from anxiety to a sense of security, which was excited by the events tamely sketched in outline in the pages of Dio. Immediately before and immediately after the Actian war, the peace of the empire was disturbed not only by the Parthians, who, under Phraates, had threatened at one time to renew the terrors of the Mithridatic wars, but also by the northern tribes in alliance with Phraates, sometimes called Scythians, sometimes Geloni. Further disturbances with the Britains in the West are also clearly indicated. To such a pass had the long civil wars reduced the majesty of the Roman state.

The first three books of the Odes, published probably in 23 B. C., show us Horace assured, in all respects, of his position: *Exegi monumentum aere perennius: Non usitata nec tenui ferar Pinna biformis per liquidum aethera Vates*². When a man has conquered the world, the world forgives his egotism. Horace has no ambition for more wealth, or for a higher position than he at present enjoys³: as a poet, self-contained, self-assured, he stands at a distance from the envy of the crowd⁴. The jealousies

¹ The only apparent exception is the first Ode of the second book, which, in consequence of the mention of Pollio's *Delmaticus triumphus*, has often been assigned to 38 B. C., the year following the celebration of the triumph. But this is unnecessary, for the glory of this triumph seems to have remained attached to the name of Pollio. Speaking of his death in A. D. 6 Jerome still says *Asinius Pollio qui de Delmatis triumphaverat*.

² 3. 30; 2. 20.

³ 3. 16. 37.

⁴ 3. 1. 1.

and backbitings of Grub Street he has left far behind him. What Thackeray says of Pope may be said also of Horace, that he may have had to the full the foibles and weaknesses of an ordinary man, but that he could rise, as an ordinary man never can, to a great occasion. His Odes embody the highest aspirations of public feeling in the noblest form that Roman lyric was capable of assuming. As far as the remaining monuments of Latin literature enable us to judge, Horace probably had no predecessors in his own line, as he certainly had no successors.

If I am right in supposing that the *De Arte Poetica* was, as I shall try to show in the next essay, written shortly (say two or three years) after the publication of the first three books of the Odes, it must be regarded as the exposition of his own theory of his art at a time when he seems to have intended to give up writing poetry and devoting himself to the study of philosophy.

The *De Arte Poetica* may have been published, nay, probably was published, before the first book of the Epistles, the latest of which is dated 19 B. C., the year of Vergil's death¹. An interesting circumstance affecting Horace's external position is indicated in this book. He is apparently well known in the circle of Tiberius, but there is no sign that he is as yet intimate with Augustus. In the thirteenth Epistle² the *Carmina quae possint oculos auresque morari Caesaris* must surely be the first three books of the Odes, which first attracted the notice of Augustus. The emperor, an excellent literary critic, perceived at once the classical character of Horace's poetry³.

The most interesting point about the first book of the Epistles is the light which it throws on Horace's view of things. He has given up poetry, and is resolved to know

¹ vv. 26. foll.

*Cantaber Agrippae, Claudi virtute Neronis
Armenius cecidit, etc.*

² v. 17.

³ Suetonius says of Augustus, *Scripta eius (Horatii) usque adeo probabat mansuraque perpetua opinatus est ut non modo Saeculare Carmen componendum iniunxerit, sed et Vindelicam victoriam Tiberii Drusique privignorum suorum, eumque coegerit propter hoc tribus carminum libris ex longo intervallo quartum addere.*

more of philosophy, of the art of life; as he himself said later¹, *non verba sequi fidibus modulanda Latinis, Sed verae numerosque modosque ediscere vitæ*. The Romans were no metaphysicians, but they did something to modify the character of popular philosophy. They helped to bring it out of the study, and to make it part of the life of public men. To this life there is little doubt that it added an element of inspiration, of seriousness, of disinterestedness. No doubt every one would use it according to his own idiosyncrasy. Horace's writing in the first book of the Epistles has become mellow, and at the same time purer and more imaginative, than in the Satires. He has given up all attempt at philosophical dogmatism, and is trying to absorb the spirit of philosophy, to grasp the principle of the higher life. There is, too, a breath of poetry about the Epistles which is quite absent from the Satires. There is occasionally a genuine moral elevation. There is the same absolute confidence in his literary position which we have already noticed in the Odes.

The *Carmen Saeculare* followed in 17 B. C., the fourth book of the Odes in 15 or 14². The date of the second book of the Epistles is uncertain, but the work is probably the latest that has come to us from Horace's pen, while in point of execution it is by far the best of his hexameter writings.

I believe that it is the breadth and greatness of Horace's interests which have given to his poetry its classical character. Take two poets of equal powers of imagination and command of language, and let the one devote himself to the tale of his own loves and hatreds, while the other never loses sight of 'the wider scope,' of the great movement of events, of the larger interests of his fellow men; and the style of the one, however luminous and intense, however great its command over the music of human passion, will be imperfect and fitful, while that of the other will rise to the height of his conception and become a beacon in literature. There is a moral element

¹ 2 Epist. 2. 144.

² See Suetonius quoted in the note on the previous page.

in the power which forms a great style; there is not only love of beauty and breadth of sympathy, but keenness of vision, ardour, courage, purity. Horace's love poems are failures compared with those of Catullus. Such strains as *Miser Catulle, desinas ineptire—Si qua recordanti benefacta priora voluptas Est homini cum se cogitat esse pium,—Odi et amo, cur id fiat fortasse requiris, Nescio, sed fieri sentio et excrucior*, would have been quite beyond his reach. But, on the other hand, would Catullus have been capable of producing such lines as these: *Audire magnos iam videor duces, Non indecoro pulvere sordidos: Paene occupatam seditionibus Delevit urbem Dacus et Aethiops: Quem vocet divum populus ruentis Imperi rebus? Nec durare carinae Possunt imperiosus Aequor: Quis Martem tunica tectum adamantina Digne scripserit? Quis non Latino sanguine pinguior Campus sepulchris impia proelia Testatur, auditumque Medis Hesperiae sonitum ruinae? Quibus Antris egregii Caesaris audiar Aeternum meditans decus Stellis inserere et concilio Iovis? Quae cura patrum quaeve Quiritium Plenis honorum muneribus tuas, Auguste, virtutes in aevum Aeternet?* In these and a hundred other such passages his style, by the severity and harmony of its music, by its simple majesty, which disdains ornament, has made his patriotism classical.

Or again, let us look at the moral significance of the following: *Fors et Debita iura vicesque superbae Te maneant ipsum: Tu secanda marmora Locas sub ipsum funus: Timor et minae Scandunt eodem quo dominus: Non si trecenis, quotquot eunt dies, Amice, places inlacrimabilem Plutona tauris: Ire tamen restat, Numa quo devenit et Ancus: Intactis opulentior Thesauris Arabum et divitis Indiae, Caementis licet occupes Terrenum omne tuis et mare publicum: Virtus repulsae nescia sordidae Intaminatis fulget honoribus: Latius regnes avidum domando Spiritum, quam si Libyam remotis Gadibus iungas, et uterque Poenus Serviat uni: Non enim gazae neque consularis Summovet lictor miseros tumultus Mentis, et curas laqueata circum Tecta volantes.*

If we speak of moral elevation in the strict sense of the expression, Horace is in this respect outstripped by Lucretius,

whose poem derives a unique significance from its author's almost ascetic detachment from the interests of public life. In grandeur again, and in wealth of imagination, Lucretius has no equal among Latin poets. In inventive genius alone, in richness of imagery, Ovid leaves Horace behind, and perhaps more than equals him in power of expression. But Horace combines perfection of form with range of mental vision to a degree which no ancient poet of his country attained except Vergil. It is this character in his poetry, not his love verses to Chloe and Lydia and Lalage, which have made him immortal. As Quintilian¹ says of Alcaeus, *Sed et lusit et in amores descendit, maioribus tamen aptior.*

¹ 10. 1. 63.

HORACE.

(2) DE ARTE POETICA.

(PUBLIC LECTURE, October Term, 1882.)

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IN spite of the large amount of industry which has been spent in elucidating the *De Arte Poetica*, I am not sure that its actual relation to the history and literature of the Augustan age has been, in all respects, correctly appreciated. The following remarks are offered as an essay towards such an appreciation. Were the *De Arte Poetica* a mere *cento* of observations translated or adapted from a Greek original, there would not be any great interest in studying it. The case becomes, however, somewhat different if it can be shown that Horace, although writing with a Greek treatise before him, was using it for practical application to the particular circumstances of his own time.

Recent study of the work has fully convinced me that this was so, and I proceed to state the grounds on which this conclusion is based.

The first important point to determine is the date of the treatise. When this question is approximately settled, we may go on to analyse its composition and contents.

The evidence bearing on the question of date is scanty, but not hopelessly indefinite. It is to be looked for (1) in actual allusions to persons or events; (2) in the tone adopted by Horace in speaking of himself and others; (3) in the metre and general style of the piece.

(1) The persons mentioned are the Pisos, to whom the essay is dedicated, and of whom there will be more to say presently: Vergil and Varius, who are spoken of (v. 55) as well known:

the orator Messala and the lawyer Cascellius Aulus (v. 372): the critics Maecius Tarpa (v. 387) and Quintilius Varus (v. 438). Of these names only the two last give us much real assistance. Spurius Maecius Tarpa had achieved his position as a dramatic critic as far back as B. C. 54, when Cicero, writing to his friend Marius (*Ad Fam.* 7. 1. 1) says, of the plays represented in that year under the auspices of Pompeius, *nobis ea perpetienda erant quae Sp. Maecius probavisset*. He is hardly likely, as Adolf Michaelis has recently pointed out, to have attained such a position before the age of thirty-five or forty. On the other hand, the language of Horace in this passage hardly allows us to suppose that at the time when the *De Arte Poetica* was written he was in extreme old age. *Si quid tamen olim Scripseris, in Maeci descendat iudicis aures*. Michaelis is quite right in arguing that Horace could hardly speak thus of a man who was not thought likely to have some years of life before him. Now supposing Tarpa to have been about thirty-five years of age in B. C. 54, he would be in his sixtieth year by B. C. 30, and by B. C. 20 in his seventieth. So far as this allusion goes, then, it would seem hardly probable that the *De Arte Poetica* could have been written later than B. C. 20 or thereabouts, or, if we choose to make Tarpa five years younger, than B. C. 15.

In v. 438 Horace says *Quintilio si quid recitares, 'Corrige, sodes, Hoc,' aiebat, 'et hoc.'* This is Quintilius Varus of Cremona, the friend of Horace and Vergil, whose death Horace bewails in the twenty-fourth Ode of the first book. According to Jerome's additions to the Eusebian Chronicle, Varus died in 24 B. C. If this date is correct, the *De Arte Poetica* could not have been written before that year. But Jerome's statement is all that we have to go upon, and he is, as is well known, not seldom inaccurate. Other considerations, however, point to the years between 24 and 20 B. C. as the date of the *Ars Poetica*. The commonly accepted theory is that it was the last of Horace's works, and written (say) between 12 and 7 B. C. But on all accounts this period seems too late. We have spoken above of Maecius Tarpa, who at this time would probably have passed

his eightieth year. Again, it is somewhat strange that if the *De Arte Poetica* had been written in these years, there should be no mention of Augustus, with whom Horace in his later years was on terms of intimacy. It was a long time before Horace could be induced to accept the offers of friendship which Augustus was constantly making him; and there is no sign that he had sent him any poems before 24 B. C. or thereabouts. Again, if we compare the way in which Vergil and Varius are spoken of in the *De Arte Poetica* with the passage about them in the second book of the Epistles (I. 247) we cannot fail to notice a difference. There can be no doubt that the passage in the second book of the Epistles must have been written after Vergil's death, for he is spoken of as a poet who had made his name, and justified the choice of Augustus when he selected him to celebrate his exploits. This of course can only refer to the Aeneid, and the Aeneid was not published until after Vergil's death. But in the *De Arte Poetica* there is no direct allusion to the Aeneid; Vergil and Varius are defended and justified, as if they had not yet outlived or silenced their detractors; Horace speaks of them in the same breath with himself, as though with him they were forming a new school. And if the *De Arte Poetica* was written before Vergil's death, it was anterior to 19 B. C.

One other point should be noticed here. In v. 18 Horace mentions the river Rhine as a favourite subject for poetical exercise. Now this would be exceedingly natural during the few years succeeding 33 B. C. or thereabouts. For the victory of Gaius Carrinas over the Suevi must be assigned to this period, as the Germans were represented in the triple triumph of Augustus in 29 B. C. And it is at the time of the composition of the tenth Satire of the first book (? 34 B. C.) that *turgidus Alpinus . . . defingit Rheni luteum caput*. Comp. Vergil, Aen. 8. 727 *Rhenusque bicornis*: Propertius, 4. 3. (2.) 45 *barbarus aut Suevo perfusus sanguine Rhenus*. But it is less likely that the Rhine would be a favourite subject during the later years of Horace's life. In B. C. 16 occurred the *clades Lolliana*, which

would be likely enough to disgust the poets and Augustus himself with the river for some time to come.

(2) And how does Horace, in the work before us, speak of himself? Not certainly as an old man, or even as past middle age. Yet he is a somewhat self-conscious writer, and fond of talking about his age: in his later years his tone is *Singula de nobis anni praedantur euntes, Eripuere iocos, Venerem, convivia. ludos, Tendunt extorquere poemata: quid faciam vis?* (2 Epist. 2. 55). There is nothing of this sort in the *Ars Poetica*: nothing of the air of a man who is weary and feels that his work is done. The only passage which could possibly be interpreted in this sense is v. 306 *poetae Munus et officium, nil scribens ipse, docebo*. We should be making a very gratuitous hypothesis of affectation in the poet were we to refuse to take these words literally; and so far as they go, they coincide with the lines in 2 Epist. 1. 207 *Ac ne forte putes me, quae facere ipse recusem, Cum recte tractent alii, laudare maligne*. But this passage refers only to composition for the stage, while in the *Ars Poetica* Horace is speaking quite generally. At first sight it might seem as if the words in the *Ars Poetica* were decisive as to the point of chronology; as if it were only towards the end of his life that Horace could honestly talk of intending to write nothing more. But there seems to be little doubt that after the publication of the first three books of the Odes Horace intended to resign himself to inactivity. He is completely satisfied with his work: *exegi monumentum aere perennius*, etc. The first Epistle opens with a complaint that Maecenas is wishing him to return to the pursuits he had abandoned. The fourth book of the Odes was extorted from him some six years later than the first book of the Epistles. There is therefore no reason why Horace should not, in the years between 24 and 20 B. C., have truly said that he was writing no poetry.

(3) On the other hand, I do not see why the *De Arte Poetica* should be dated later than the first book of the Epistles, which cannot have been published before 19 B. C. There is no historical allusion in either work which points to such a conclusion;

while if we examine, as Haupt has taught us to do, the metre of the two works, we find that in one point at least Horace is, if anything, laxer in the *Ars Poetica* than in the first book of the Epistles. I allude to the coincidence of accent with metrical *ictus*, in other words, to the absence of *caesura*, at the beginning of the line. Such beginnings as *iungere si velit* (v. 2), *sed nunc non erat* (19), *nesciet hunc ego* (35), *pleraque differat* (44), *et nova fictaque* (52), *quanto rectius* (140), *tibia non ut* (202), are more frequent in the Satires than in the *Ars Poetica*, and again in the *Ars Poetica* than in the first book of the Epistles. In the second book of the Epistles it must be admitted that Horace returns to his old freedom in this matter.

In other respects the metre of the *Ars Poetica* closely resembles that of the two books of Epistles.

It may be noticed that Horace in the *Ars Poetica* attributes much importance to the study of philosophy as training for a poet, and his language on this subject coincides fairly enough with his expression on the subject in the first book of the Epistles.

Taking one consideration, then, with another, I am disposed to think that the *De Arte Poetica* should be printed in future editions of Horace not at the end of the volume, but between the Satires and the Epistles. This arrangement would correspond, much better than that adopted since the time of Stephanus, with the order given us by the manuscripts; in which the *Ars Poetica* is always placed either after the fourth book of the Odes or after the *Carmen Saeculare*.

If the foregoing reasoning is sound, it follows, as Michaelis has pointed out, that the Pisos, to whom the piece is dedicated, cannot be Lucius Piso, the consul of 15 B.C., and *praefectus Urbi*, and his sons. Lucius Piso would at this time be hardly old enough to have sons who could be called *iuvenes*. I therefore agree with those scholars who suppose the *Pisones* of the *Ars Poetica* to be Gnaeus Piso, *consul suffectus* B.C. 23, and his sons. Gnaeus Piso was at one time an ardent supporter of the anti-Caesarian party, and, like Horace, followed the fortunes of Brutus and Cassius in 42 B.C. His eldest son Gnaeus would

in 24 B.C. be a young man of two-and-twenty. The friendship of Horace with the Pisos is perhaps further attested by the quotation from Philodemus in the second Satire of the first book (v. 121): though I do not know whether there is any evidence to show what was the relation between the family of Gnaeus Piso and that of Lucius, to which Philodemus was attached.

We may now proceed to examine the structure and composition of the poem, which at first sight present great difficulties. It is obvious at once that Horace was writing with a Greek original before him, and equally obvious that (although some Aristotelian precepts may have filtered into it) this Greek original cannot have been the *περὶ ποιητικῆς* of Aristotle, with which the *De Arte Poetica* presents very few important points of contact.

The commentary, or fragment of a commentary, which bears the name of Pomponius Porphyryon, says that in the *De Arte Poetica* Horace put together the most important maxims of Neoptolemus of Parium: *congessit praecepta Neoptolemi τοῦ Παριανοῦ, non quidem omnia, sed eminentissima*¹. According to the ordinary manuals of Greek literary history Neoptolemus of Parium was an Alexandrian critic; at what period he wrote I am unable to ascertain. The general excellence of the commentary of Porphyryon, which is evidently drawn from good sources, and is generally superior to that attributed to Acron or to the Cruquian scholia, should dispose us favourably towards any important statement contained in it which other considerations tend to substantiate. Now some parts at least of the *De Arte Poetica* can only have been taken from a treatise which contemplated a different condition of literature from that existing at the time of Aristotle or Theophrastus. The tragedy, for instance, contemplated by Horace and his authority, has five acts; there is no mention of a trilogy; the precepts delivered are in the main concerned with composition, form, arrangement, harmony in the drawing of character, and similar points lying

¹ Adolf Michaelis, *De Auctoribus quos Horatius in libro de Arte Poetica secutus esse videatur* (Keil, 1857), thinks the maxims of Horace's treatise too lucid to have proceeded from Alexandria.

at a great distance from the breadth and grandeur of conception which animate the treatise of Aristotle. I do not know why it should be assumed (as for instance by Michaelis) that Alexandrian criticism should have been obscure and tortuous because this was the characteristic of Alexandrian poetry. From one point of view, indeed, the *De Arte Poetica* seems to bear an Alexandrian stamp; it contains the neatly-formulated criticism of a refined, intelligent, and well trained scholar, not that of a philosopher whose eye is set upon great things.

An examination of the piece in detail will, I hope to show, bear out Porphyry's statement so far at least as the words *praecepta conpressit* are concerned. Whether the author of the work which Horace had before him was Neoptolemus or not, it seems, or parts of it seem, to have served as an authority to other Italian writers besides Horace. There is a striking coincidence between Horace's words about the inventor of the elegiac and those of Marius Victorinus p. 107 (Keil) *quod metrum invenisse fertur Callinous Ephesius: alii vero Archilochum eius auctorem tradiderunt, quidam Colophonium quendam*. Compare Plotius Sacerdos p. 510 *hoc metro mortuis fletus componebant vel epigrammata consecrationum . . . auctorem vero huius metri . . . alii Pythagoram, alii Ortugen, non nulli Minnermum dicunt.* The same phenomenon will meet us later in the passage referring to the *iambus*.

If a division is necessary, the *De Arte Poetica* might be roughly said to consist of two parts, the first of which ends at v. 291. But it is not the way of Horace to arrange his writing with any great regard to logical precision. What concerns us now more nearly is to point out that the work seems to consist of a string of texts, maxims, or historical statements, to which in most cases Horace adds a comment, developing the idea in his own way, and containing a direct practical reference to the circumstances of his own time. This fact, if kept clearly in view, will, I think, afford a key to the arrangement of the piece.

Horace opens (vv. 1-37) with some remarks on the necessity of observing proportion in writing, and proportion he

views in various lights. Porphyrius says of vv. 1-9 *primum praeceptum est* περί τῆς ἀκολουθίας. Ἀκολουθία is conformity, agreement between the several parts of a composition. I suppose that the *praeceptum* of Neoptolemus is translated or paraphrased in vv. 1-5, and that 6-9 form Horace's comment. In vv. 9-10 another dictum (*sequens praeceptum*, says Porphyrius) is quoted from the Greek: 'Painters and poets, you say, have always been allowed any licence they please.' 'Yes,' answers Horace, 'but not so as to outrage all sense of natural law.' On v. 14 Porphyrius remarks, *Plerumque etc. Tertium καθολικόν*. Probably from *plerumque* to *pannus* is Horace's paraphrase of a sentence in his Greek original, to the effect that proportion may be violated in another way, namely, by the insertion of brilliant passages irrelevant to the matter in hand. There is a Greek colouring in the words *et fortasse cupressum Scis simulare*: Porphyrius says *quod proverbium Graecis in usu est*, μή τι ἐκ κυπαρίσσου θέλεις; the allusions to Diana and the Rhine are of course Horace's own. On v. 24 Porphyrius says *hoc tale παράγγελμα est*: *erramus, inquit, et dum conamur veram virtutem sequi, in vitia virtuti vicina incidimus: nam breviter scribentem sequitur obscuritas, levia componentem inhihent, diserta profitentem κακόζηλα vitiant sprete rerum inspectione*. The law of proportion may again be violated by aiming exclusively at one kind of excellence; excessive brevity leads to obscurity, excessive polish to weakness, the attempt at grand writing to bombast, love of variety in fiction to incongruity. Horace's comment begins at v. 32 *Aemilium circa ludum*, and ends at v. 37 *nigroque capillo*.

In v. 38 another part of the subject is started: matter, order, and language. The first maxim is *sumite materiam vestris, qui scribitis, aequam Viribus*; closely connected with this is the following περί τῆς εὐταξίας, as Porphyrius puts it. The virtue of arrangement is to say no more now than is now required, postponing a great deal to another occasion. With v. 45 begins a chapter on language. The text is contained in two lines, *in verbis etiam tenuis. cautusque serendis Hoc amet, hoc spernat promissi carminis auctor*. If you make yourself re-

sponsible to the public for a new poem, you must be delicate and circumspect in combining words. Upon this text Horace hangs a long commentary, long and interesting, because he is here speaking from his heart and with a direct reference to the history of Italian poetry, in which nothing is more striking than the fondness of the poets for inventing new words. Philology and poetry went hand in hand in the ancient and classical literature of Italy. Whether this undoubted fact was due to the influence of the Greek masters, who, after the second Punic war, would represent at Rome the later Hellenic culture and its academical maxims, or due rather to the native bent of the Italians themselves, or to the mere necessities of the case, I do not attempt to decide. In any case Horace is only saying what the whole previous history of Italian literature justified him in saying. An old word, he urges, may get new life from a new setting; indeed the poet may go further, and coin words unknown to older generations. New words may be taken from the Greek with such slight changes as are necessary to give them an Italian sound; for instance (as Porphyrius says) *triclinium* for *cenaculum*, *vinum* (for *temetum*), *calix* and *cucullus*. 'Why should Caecilius and Plautus, Cato and Ennius, be allowed by general consent to do this, while Vergil and Varius and myself are forbidden?'

I must pause for a moment over vv. 60-69. As vv. 60-61 are now printed from the manuscripts, they present a great difficulty: *Ut silvae foliis pronos mutantur in annos, Prima cadunt: ita verborum vetus interit aetas, Et iuvenum ritu florent modo nata vigentque.* The general sense is clear; as old leaves fall off and new ones take their place, so old words go out of fashion and their place is taken by new ones. But as the words now stand the simile halts on one leg; what is wanted is the words corresponding to *prima cadunt*. Keller in his *Epilegomena* defends the omission (after Vahlen) by appealing to such sentences as *νέος αἰὲ γιγνόμενος, τὰ δὲ ἀπολλύς* (Plato, *Sympos.* p. 207 d): *ἄμουσον, ἔφη, τὸ δὲ ἄδικον* (*Phaedo*, p. 105 d): *πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς διαλεγόμενοι, τότε δ' αὖ περὶ τῆς ξυμφορᾶς διεξιόντες*

(ib. p. 116 a): Cicero *Legg.* I. § 15 *in ripa inambulantes, tum autem residentes.* But surely in all these cases it is not a whole clause which is wanting, but only some such adversative expression as *μέν, τότε μέν,* or *tum quidem.* Now the medieval commentary published in 1877 from a Vienna manuscript by Dr Joseph Zechmeister paraphrases the passage as follows: *prima, scilicet folia, cadunt, nova succrescunt; ita vetus aetas verborum, id est, verba in vetere aetate inventa intereunt, et modo nata... florent.* As *succresco* is a word of the true classical stamp, and not at all likely to have been used *suo Marte* by a medieval commentator, it has occurred to me that we have here the very words of Horace, and that the line ran originally thus: *prima cadunt, nova succrescunt; vetus interit aetas;* the words *ita verborum* having originally been a gloss on *aetas* and having afterwards crept into the text. The paraphrase just quoted need not imply that its writer found them in the text before him. On looking at Keller and Holder's *apparatus criticus* I find that they quote a passage from Jerome which seems to me materially to confirm this view. In the second book of his commentary on Hosea Jerome says (*cum*) *alia venerit generatio primisque cadentibus foliis virens silva succreverit;* as if the text of Horace from which he is quoting had in it the word *succresco.* I would propose therefore to strike out the words *ita verborum,* to insert in their place *nova succrescunt,* and to translate the whole passage, 'As the forests change their leaves as the years hurry on, the first leaves fall, and new ones grow up to take their place: so the old generation perishes, and the new growth flourishes and is vigorous like the young generation of men.' Horace goes on to say that death comes to all men, and the works of men will come to nought, even as the mighty beginnings of Julius Caesar, the harbour at Ostia, the draining of the Pomptine marshes, and the changing of the river's course have all fallen dead¹.

In vv. 73 foll. Horace gives a short history of the various

¹ This is Preller's convincing interpretation of the passage: see Orelli's Horace, Excursus IV to the *De Arte Poetica.*

metres, adding a comment (vv. 87-118) on the necessity of suiting words and metre to the feelings which they are to express. In v. 119, passing to tragedy, he begins with another text: 'either follow the tradition of the stage, or, if you desert it, let your invention be harmonious and consistent.' The lines 128-152 must, I think, refer to epic poetry. As Porphyrius says, Horace starts by putting forward a Greek text in the form of a question: 'You say it is difficult to treat unclaimed¹ subjects in an original way, and that it is better to take the story of Troy and write tragedies upon it, than to be the first to attempt an epic on a new subject?' Yes, answers Horace: but such unclaimed matter will become of private right if you do not tarry in the beaten track of the epic cycle, nor in translating from the Greek are over anxious to render word for word, nor in imitating (Homer?) get yourself into entanglements from which you cannot extricate yourself. Again, do not begin like the cyclic poet, but like Homer; like him plunge *in medias res*, blending fact and fiction into a harmonious whole.

It is difficult to resist the impression that Horace is here alluding to Vergil's manner of proceeding in the Aeneid, which was now (if the date assumed above be correct) in the course of composition. At any rate he could not have described more exactly the plan which Vergil actually followed, and which Apollonius Rhodius (and possibly some Roman writers) had chosen to abandon.

153 foll. The inner treatment of tragedy and epic being dismissed, Horace speaks of the characters of comedy. Each period of life, childhood, youth, middle and old age, is to be painted accurately. Then in vv. 179-202 comes a string of rules affecting the mechanical arrangement of the drama. A distinction must be made between actions which are fit for production on the stage and those which should be left to messengers to narrate; the *deus ex machina* must only be brought in on worthy occasions; the actors must be three and no more; a

¹ I follow Acron in explaining *communis* to mean 'unclaimed.' *Quamdiu a nullo sunt acta vel dicta, singulis aequae patent: ut domus aut ager sine domino communis est.*

tragedy should have five acts, no more ; the chorus, singing between the acts, must play a real part, encouraging the good and curbing the bad. A few remarks on the history and proper character of stage-music conclude this part of the subject.

Horace now passes to the satyric drama, opening the subject with a short history of it, which I suppose to have come from his Greek original. The comment apparently begins v. 225 *verum ita risores*. The satyric drama, according to Horace's idea, should occupy a middle place between tragedy and comedy. Its language should not be too lofty, still less should it be too coarse or direct ; there is a difference between the god Silenus and Davus the slave. The satyric drama must follow, naturally and easily, from the tragedy which precedes it ; so easily that every one will think he could have composed the whole himself. The *fauni* must not talk like town-bred boys, running to the extreme either of effeminacy or of coarseness.

Scholars are now, I think, agreed that no satyric drama was known to the Roman stage ; but on such a hypothesis it is exceedingly difficult to assign any real meaning to the passage just paraphrased. I do not know whether we ought to accept the statement of Porphyrius on v. 221, *satyrica coeperunt scribere ut Pomponius Atalanten vel Sisyphon vel Ariadnen*, and assume that Pomponius, whether the poet of Bononia or his later namesake Pomponius Secundus, wrote satyric dramas. But I can see no possible reason for denying that some of the numerous Augustan poets or poetasters may have taken up the idea of doing so, and possibly of substituting the *satyri* for the *Atellana* or *exodium*, as a more decent and dignified close for the whole theatrical performance. I would sooner believe this, even in the absence of other evidence, than suppose that Horace was merely beating the air in the practical and careful precepts which he is here enforcing. Every other part of the *De Arte Poetica* has its practical application, and why not this ?

But the account of the Latin drama given by Diomedes, p. 490 (Keil), seems distinctly to imply that the Romans had a

satyric drama which stood to the *Atellana* as the *comoedia* to the *togata tabernaria*, and the *tragoedia* to the *togata praetextata*. *Togata praetextata a tragoedia differt quod in tragoedia heroes inducuntur, ut Pacuvius tragoedias nominibus heroicis inscripsit, Orestem Chrysen et his similia, item Accius: in praetextata autem quae inscribitur Brutus vel Decius, item Marcellus. Togata tabernaria a comoedia differt, quod in comoediis Graeci ritus inducuntur personaeque Graecae, Laches Sostrata; in illa vero Latinae... Latina Atellana a Graeca satyrica differt, quod in satyrica fere Satyrorum personae inducuntur, aut si quae sunt ridiculae similes Satyris, Autolycus Busiris: in Atellana Oscae personae, ut Maccus.*

Vv. 251–257 treat of the metre suitable to tragic dialogue, and the practice of the Roman tragedians. Horace starts, as usual, with a paraphrase of his Greek original. The *iambus*, a short and a long syllable, was the basis of the *trimeter iambeus* or iambic of lampoon, consisting mainly of pure *iambi*: more recently spondees were admitted into the odd places. That this comes directly from the Greek is, I think, shown by the words *non ita pridem*. I suppose Horace to be distinguishing the pure or comparatively pure iambics written by¹ Archilochus,

¹ He may be transcribing, but briefly and carelessly, from the same treatise as that used by Terentianus Maurus 2181 foll., Marius Victorinus, p. 80 (Keil), and Plotius Sacerdos p. 517. The fullest account of the matter is that of Victorinus: *Igitur iambicum metrum ne propter angustam brevitatem sui pedis, videlicet in tria tempora coartati, verba plura excludendo minus apte aut metrum pangeret aut sensum exprimeret, placuit conditoribus adscito spondeo et quae ex eo per divisionem tempora gignuntur per dipodias id scandere... Trimetri igitur iambici acatalectici genera sunt quattuor: quorum prius tragicum, dehinc comicum et iambicum, post satyricum, habebitur. Et tragicum quidem, cuius in versu erunt dextri spondei, sinistri iambi, id est disparibus pares subditi: huius exemplum*

Musae Iovem laudate concentu bono.

Comicum autem quod anapaestum et tribrachyn praedictis admiscet, ut

Agite agite quid dubitatis agiles dare choros.

Iambicum autem quod ex omnibus iambis nullo alio admixto subsistit, quo iambographi maxime gaudent. Ib. p. 132 Iamborum scriptores quibus celeri versu opus est fere per iambos provolant. Plotius Sacerdos l. c. Pura iambica trimetra quae Archilochia nuncupatur, quae solos iambos recipit et raros spondeos... Exempla Graeca

*πάτερ Λυκάμβα, ποῖον ἐφράσω τόδε;
ἴω Κάϊκε Μῦσαι τ' ἐπιρροαί.*

and imitated to a certain extent by Catullus and the authors of iambic lampoons in the *Catalepton* and *Priapea*, from the freer and more dignified dramatic measure. *Non ita pridem*—these words can only have a meaning if written by some author who lived comparatively near the time when the change was supposed to have taken place. Some two centuries elapsed between the time of Archilochus and that of Aeschylus: perhaps somewhat less than that period between the age of Aeschylus and that of the Alexandrian writer from whom Horace is translating. Supposing him to have written in the third century B.C., and to have divided the history of the iambic into two halves, each of which consisted of about two hundred years, he might perhaps fairly say that (comparatively) ‘it was not so long ago’ when the change took place. Or he may simply have taken the words over from an older treatise.

From vv. 309–365 we have another and an exceedingly important section. So far Horace’s *praecepta* have been mainly formal, and his statements historical; but he now approaches the ethical principles which lie at the root of true poetical composition. *Scribendi recte saperest et principium et fons* is his text, taken perhaps from Neoptolemus. Sense and philosophical culture lie at the basis of good poetry. You may learn the pith of the matter from the Socratic school, and when once you have mastered your thoughts, you will find (as Menander said¹) that the words will not tarry. The writer of drama should be perfectly acquainted with all the limits of human relations: let him, when he copies, copy from life. It sometimes happens

Latina haec

Ibis Liburnis inter alta navium

et

Paratus omne Caesaris periculum.

The rule is too symmetrically stated, yet it seems to have some truth in it. The lampoons in Horace’s Epodes in no case consist of pure iambs: Catullus writes pure iambs in his twenty-ninth poem, which is a lampoon, and in his fourth, which is not; and some of the lampoons of the *Priapeia* and the pseudo-Vergilian *Catalepton* are in pure iambs.

¹ Acron on v. 311: *Menander cum iam fabulam disposuisset, etiam si nondum versibus adornasset, dicebat se tamen iam complexse.* ‘Und wenn’s euch Ernst ist, was zu sagen, Ist nöthig Worten nachzujagen?’

that a play without any recommendation on the score of charm or art, but with its characters well treated and with beauty in its sentiments, will hold the stage longer than one which lacks matter and has nothing to show but the music of its verses. But, to attain all this, we should be like the masters of Greek literature and care for nothing but fame. Our youth is in danger of being corrupted by the love of gain, which is corroding the heart of Roman society.

Returning again to his text he says, 'Poets write either to give pleasure or to do good.' The true merit of the poet is to do both at once; if this be attained, a few errors may well be pardoned. The lines 333-4 *aut prodesse volunt aut delectare poetae, Aut simul et iucunda et idonea dicere vitæ*, may be from the Greek; the comment then will be vv. 335-365.

Vv. 365-390. After all, remember that second-rate poetry is of no value. There is a tendency in our time to suppose that respectable birth, a good income, and a good character, are sufficient qualifications for writing poetry. No; remember Helvius Cinna and his nine years¹: poetry is a serious matter; as the Greeks tell us, the poet was the early prophet of civilization. It was the poets who inspired patriotic feeling, who uttered oracles and pointed out the path of life. Do not suppose then that the utmost cultivation of the poetic gift is a matter to be ashamed of.

V. 408. Perhaps another Greek text; is poetry the production of φύσις or of τέχνη? Of both, is Horace's reply; one is as necessary as the other. But he soon returns to what is nearest to his heart, the tendency of the existing state of Roman society to corrupt the poetical motive. Beware above all, he says, if you are rich, of being misled by the flattery of poor dependents whom you have obliged by some service; rather go for criticism to some honest judge like Quintilius Varus. And above all shun the mad enthusiasm which calls itself inspiration.

¹ The ancient commentators here and Philargyrius on Eclogue 9. 35 agree in referring the words *nonnumque prematur in annum* to the nine years spent by Helvius Cinna in the composition of his *Zmyrna*.

It will, I think, appear from the foregoing analysis that the arrangement of the *De Arte Poetica* is, on the whole, natural and easy, though not very strict. The only point in it which really strikes one as anomalous is the fact that the lines on the dignity of poetry and the question whether poetry is the offspring of art or of genius should come so late in the piece; and it would be interesting to know whether this was the case with the treatise of Neoptolemus. It is of course quite conceivable that the arrangement is Horace's own, for he nowhere binds himself, any more than Vergil does, to strict logical sequence. His *satura* or *epistula* is more a *causerie* than a treatise.

If my hypothesis as to the composition of the piece is correct, it follows that we have in the *De Arte Poetica* an instance of the same phenomenon that meets us so often in the philosophical works of Cicero. The work is really bilingual, consisting partly of translations or paraphrases from a Greek original, partly of comments on these, taken from Roman history or applicable to Roman life. I am convinced that the looseness and obscurity of many of Cicero's philosophical works may easily be explained if this fact be carefully borne in mind. It is a phenomenon, so far as I know, peculiar to Roman literature; but when thoroughly apprehended it enables us to solve a great many riddles connected with the arrangement of Roman philosophical writing.

With regard to the matter of the *De Arte Poetica*, there are one or two peculiarities which cannot fail to strike an attentive reader, and which may perhaps be explained by a careful consideration of the circumstances in which it was written. A large proportion of the whole is devoted to the drama; vv. 89-127, 152-291, or some 170 lines: while epic has only twenty-four, 128-152. Of other special branches of composition there is hardly any mention except in the summary of metrical history, vv. 75-85; of hint or instruction for composition in any other style but the epic and dramatic there is no trace. The rest of the piece is taken up with remarks which apply equally well to all styles of poetry, and which, though something is said about

invention in language, are chiefly directed to the necessity of finish and the paramount importance of the study of Greek.

That there is some special reason for this I cannot doubt. It cannot of course be that Roman poets needed, in Horace's opinion, no instruction, or were not inclined to make any attempts, in the way of lyric or elegiac composition. Nor again do I suppose that the author of the Greek treatise which Horace had before him had confined his remarks to epic and the drama, or that, even if he had, Horace would have thought himself precluded from turning to other subjects. I am inclined to look for a reason in the peculiar circumstances of Horace's own time; and the more so because we shall find, on examination, that he pursues a similar line of criticism elsewhere. Turning to the first epistle of the second book, we notice that, apart from remarks of quite a general character, Horace lays most stress upon the condition of the Roman stage (vv. 155-213), while again something is said about epic poetry, though here with especial mention of Vergil and Varius as having adequately satisfied its requirements.

What is the inference? It should be remembered that the stage was, during the last two centuries of the republic, a source of influence mainly in literature, but also to a certain extent in politics. It is therefore somewhat curious that the Ciceronian age, so full of political excitement, should have been chiefly fertile, not in comedy or tragedy, but in lyric, lampoon, and learned or didactic poetry. Matters, however, somewhat changed in the Augustan period, when Asinius Pollio, and after him Varius, and later still Ovid, wrote tragedies of great merit. The *Ajax* of Augustus himself, though he fell on his sponge, not on his sword¹, was the offspring of the new time. From the third Epistle of Horace's first book we gather that epic, tragedy, and the grander lyric were engaging some of the *cohors* of Tiberius. Epic poetry was more successfully revived by Varius and Vergil than by Varro of Atax in his *Bellum Sëquanicum*.

¹ Macrobius Sat. 2. 4. 2 *L. Varius tragoediarum scriptor interrogabat eum (Augustum) quid ageret Ajax suus. Et ille, 'In spongiam,' inquit, incubuit.*

I think it therefore most probable that in the *De Arte Poetica* and the second book of the Epistles Horace was writing a manifesto in favour of his friends, and emphasizing the principles which they had followed or were following. It can hardly be doubted that the dramatists of the Augustan age must have given fresh study to the subject of tragic metre, diction, and composition generally, and in all points have bridged over the interval which separated the style and measure of Accius from those of Seneca. Indeed we may perhaps regard the tragedies of Seneca as the pale ghost of the once living body of Roman dramatic art, as it had grown and been nourished by the genius of Pollio, Varius, and Ovid.

And this fact leads to further reflections. The influence of the Alexandrian school on the poetry of the Augustan era is often exaggerated. That it was strong it would of course be idle to deny, but it is Catullus, Calvus, Helvius Cinna, and Propertius, not Vergil, Horace, and Ovid, who are the true Italian representatives of the Alexandrian manner. Can anything in Horace, for instance, be adduced at all resembling the tortuous and involved arrangement of the *Coma Berenices*, or the awkward conception of the *Peleus and Thetis*? Obscurity, as Suetonius remarks in his memoir, is the last fault that any one would impute to Horace¹. Or again, can it be alleged that the style of Horace or Vergil, when writing at their best, has anything which resembles the uniformly recurring sentimentality of Catullus in his really Alexandrian pieces? I am really disposed to think that the quarrel of Horace with Catullus and his school is due to the fact that he thought their line of poetry too artificial and too trivial to be permanent. He wished to bring literature back from the paths of Callimachus and Euphorion to those of Homer, Archilochus, Alcaeus, Sappho, and Sophocles. The older Italian poets had, it is true, worked in this direction, but not, as Horace thought, with sufficient regard to finish. Example is better than precept, and when the *De Arte Poetica* was written Horace had already shown, in the Epodes and first

¹ *Quo vitio minime tenebatur*, Suetonius, Roth, p. 298.

three books of the Odes, how the manner of Archilochus, Alcaeus, and Sappho could be given in Latin: *Parios ego primus iambos Ostendi Latio, numeros animosque secutus Archilochi, non res et agentia verba Lycamben*¹. Horace and Vergil wished Italian poetry to combine the vigour and grandeur of the old epic and tragedy with the refinement and elaborate study of the Alexandrian school; the study of Greek could not, they thought, be too minute, but it must be applied to worthy subjects. The idea was true, national, adequate to the requirements of the age; and its result was a classical style, a monument which, as Horace himself said, will live when inscriptions in bronze and stone have perished.

The criticism of the *De Arte Poetica* represents the meeting-point of the two currents of Alexandrian and Italian thought. The rules laid down by Neoptolemus of Parium are far enough removed from the grand conceptions which inspired the *περὶ ποιητικῆς* of Aristotle. They are rational, refined, indeed in a narrow sense classical, but they have something of an academical ring, and are suitable to a period of literary decline. Alexandria, with all her learning and culture, was after all no more than the schoolmistress of Italy; the real power of Italian genius was always independent of the forms which it chose to adopt from the later Hellenism. The best things in Lucretius, Catullus, Vergil, and Horace are Italian or their own; even the Greek metres which they adopted were infinitely modified by the exigencies of the Italian ear. In attempting to exhibit Horace's criticisms in their bearing on poetical effort and creation at his own time we are also in a position to estimate the measure of their universal importance. Much in them, it need hardly be said, has little meaning now; much again seems to have had the meaning trodden out of it. Yet the utterances of a great poet, nay, even of an inferior poet, on his own art are always of the utmost value, as they spring from a living consciousness; and hence it is that a sentence of Goethe will often contain more than a page of Macaulay. Horace's criticism, pervaded as it is

¹ 1 Epist. 19. 23.

with a perhaps too exclusive sense of the importance of form, is less generous, especially towards the older poets, than that of Ovid; but it is based on the eternal principles that a poet, if he is to produce work that is to live, must be sincere, independent of the subtle corruption of social intercourse and opinion, unwearied in his study of form, undaunted in his scorn of triviality, and always in living contact with the noblest tendencies of his age.

HORACE.

(3) THE TEXT.

(PUBLIC LECTURE, October Term, 1883.)

THERE IS NO direct evidence bearing on the question of the form or the order in which the poems of Horace were originally published. It is, however, probable, on all grounds, that they were given to the world in the order indicated in the last essay but one; the first book of the Satires being published first, then the Epodes, then the second book of the Satires, and after these the first three books of Odes. Afterwards came, at various times between 23 and 14 B.C., the *De Arte Poetica*, the first book of the Epistles, the *Carmen Saeculare*, and the fourth book of Odes; and finally, at an unknown date, the second book of the Epistles.

But when were the poems first published in the order in which the manuscripts give them, viz. (1) Odes, Epodes, *Carmen Saeculare*: (2) *De Arte Poetica*, Satires, Epistles?

There is no external evidence to decide the question. But it will be observed that this arrangement disregards chronology, and is, to all appearance, based on metrical considerations. The lyrics and the hexameter poems are separated, and perhaps into two volumes. Of the Odes Suetonius says, (*Augustus*) *eum coegit . . . tribus carminum libris ex longo intervallo quartum addere*. These words may, but need not necessarily, imply that the four books of the Odes were published separately in Horace's lifetime. In the sixth century A.D. the *subscriptio* of Mavortius, at the end of the Epodes (of which more anon), shows that at that time the Epodes finished a volume.

Did the poems of Horace, as published in the first century A.D., include any *pseudepigrapha*, or writings falsely attributed to

him, as (for instance) the *Culex* was falsely attributed to Vergil? This is an important question, and must be separated from the kindred but distinct question whether single spurious stanzas or lines were inserted into single poems.

Suetonius says, *Venerunt in manus meas et elegi sub titulo eius, et epistula prosa oratione quasi commendantis se Maecenati, sed utraque falsa puto; nam elegi vulgares, epistula etiam obscura, quo vitio minime tenebatur.*

Some elegiacs, then, and a letter in prose, were in the first or early second century attributed (we may assume falsely) to Horace; of Odes thus falsely attributed to him there is not a word in Suetonius, nor, so far as I know, do the ancient commentators ever hint at such a thing. What are the probabilities of the case?

It is likely that Horace's poems were all published, in one form or another, during his lifetime; and many copies of them were no doubt circulated. The chances are, therefore, that so many correct copies were in circulation during his lifetime, or soon after his death, that it would have been comparatively difficult, during the first century, to introduce *pseudepigrapha* to any considerable extent without risk of detection. As to the evidence to be derived from style I cannot do better than quote Mr. Munro's words in the Preface to his Horace (p. xv.):

'Horace's style is his own, borrowed from none who preceded him, successfully imitated by none who came after him. The Virgilian heroic was appropriated by subsequent generations of poets, and adapted to their purpose with signal success: the hendecasyllable and scazon of Catullus became part and parcel of the poetical heritage of Rome, and Martial employs them only less happily than their matchless creator. But the moulds in which Horace cast his lyrical and satirical thoughts were broken at his death. The style neither of Persius nor of Juvenal has the faintest resemblance to that of their common master; Statius, whose hendecasyllables are passable enough, has given us one alcaic and one sapphic ode, which recall the bald and constrained efforts of a modern schoolboy. I am

sure he could not have written any two consecutive stanzas of Horace; and if he could not, who could? And then to suppose that forgeries of whole poems or portions of poems could have taken place, and yet left no trace of the fact behind them, during ages when he was in every public and private library! For that they certainly must have had their origin at an early period, say before the time of Quintilian, is admitted, I believe, by all judicious advocates of such forgeries: to give them a later date would lead to endless contradictions and absurdities.¹

The only case in which interpolation can be proved is that of the lines supposed to be introductory to the tenth Satire of the first book, *Lucili quam sis mendosus*, etc. But external evidence is decisive against them. Difficult as they are, the ancient commentators take no notice of them, and they are omitted in the best manuscripts.

In the eighth Ode of the fourth book (vv. 17-20) occurs a passage which I admit to be very trying to one's belief in the integrity of Horace's text: *Non incendia Carthaginis impiae Eius qui domita nomen ab Africa Lucratus rediit, clarius indicant Laudes, quam Calabriae Pierides*. Did Horace, then, confuse the two Scipios? mistake the age of Ennius? No; the epithet *impiae*, referring to the breach of the treaty in the siege of Saguntum, shows that he is thinking of the second Punic War. But Horace may easily have forgotten the date of the burning of Carthage, and thus attributed to the elder Scipio an act for which the younger was really responsible. A similar mistake was plausibly attributed to Vergil in the sixth Aeneid (839), *Eruet ille Argos, Agamemnoniasque Mycenae, Ipsumque Aeaciden, genus armipotensis Achilli, Ultus avos Troiae, templa et temerata Minervae*. The lines may be explained so as to save Vergil's credit, but at first sight it would appear that he has confused the conqueror of Macedonia with the conqueror of Argos and Mycenae¹. And there seems no doubt that in the first Georgic (v. 490) he has mistaken Philippi for Pharsalia.

The case of the text of Horace is very different from that of

¹ See Conington's note on the passage.

Vergil's Aeneid. The text of the Aeneid invited interpolation for two reasons: (1) because the work was unfinished and left to editors to publish; (2) because single lines were left incomplete. Hence it was open to an interpolator to say that his lucubrations had been written by Vergil, but struck out by Varius and Tucca, the editors of the Aeneid: or he could, as Suetonius in his life of Vergil¹ says that many people did, attempt to finish an incomplete verse. An instance of the first method of proceeding is afforded by the spurious four lines prefixed to the Aeneid, and, as I believe, by the celebrated verses about Helen in the second book²; for an instance of the second I may quote Aeneid 2. 787 *Dardanus et divae Veneris nurus*, of which Servius says *sane hunc versum ila quidam supplevit, 'et tua coniunx,'* and 8. 41 *Concessere deum*, which, according to the same authority, was completed by the words *profugis nova moenia Teucris*.

Interpolation apart, we come to the question what, in respect of general correctness, was the state of Horace's text in the first century A.D.? Like the text of Vergil, that of Horace was during the first century circulated in numerous copies, some no doubt good, and many, very probably, indifferent. His poems were much read in schools, and I suspect that it was for scholastic convenience that his lyrics were thrown together in a separate volume. Towards the end of the century Valerius Probus³ thought it worth his while to prepare a text in which lines which appeared to him doubtful, or difficult, or misplaced, were marked with *obeli* and other notes of the kind. An important fragment, printed by Keil in the seventh volume of his *Grammatici Latini* (p. 534), says *his (notis) usi sunt in adnotationibus . . . postremo Probus, qui illas in Vergilio et Horatio et Lucretio apposuit ut in Homero Aristarchus*.

From what is known of Probus's critical work upon Vergil we may fairly infer that in dealing with Horace he was concerned mainly, (1) with restoring good readings where bad ones

¹ 41.

² vv. 565-588.

³ For an account of Valerius Probus I may be allowed to refer to Conington's *Virgil*, vol. i. (fourth edition), pp. lxiv-lxviii.

had crept in: (2) with marking verses apparently difficult or misplaced. Suetonius¹ tells us of him that *multa exemplaria (veterum scriptorum) contracta emendare ac distinguere et adnotare curavit, soli huic nec ulli praeterea grammatices parti deditus*. That he ever expunged a verse there is no evidence to show.

It is important to ascertain, if possible, what is precisely meant by the word *emendatio*, when used of the critical procedure of a scholar in the first few centuries after Christ. It means, of course, correction, such as by a writer of his own work, and would include all that we mean by revising proofs. There is, however, I think, nothing to show that it ever implies conjectural emendation, in the modern sense of the term. I doubt very much whether ancient scholars were accustomed, as a rule, to correct a text without having another manuscript or manuscripts before them, from which they would take such variants as they pleased, either inserting them into the text or writing them in as notes between the lines. Whence then, it will be asked, had these variants arisen? Never, I think, or hardly ever, from 'conjecture' in the proper sense of the word, but from two other causes amply sufficient to account for their existence. The first is the fact that texts were badly copied, and that corrections were afterwards inserted (with the aid of better copies) by critical readers. The second is the fact that in books which were, like the works of Vergil and Horace, much read and commented on in schools, many interlinear and marginal glosses were written, which subsequent copyists sometimes mistook for corrections in the text, and either from ignorance or carelessness inserted in it. Hence it is that by the end of the fourth century A.D. the copy of Vergil from which our manuscripts are derived swarmed with various readings. Hence the numerous indications of variants in the ancient commentators on Vergil and Horace, in whose notes, although such remarks as *alii, multi legunt, Probus, Asper legit*, and the like, are common, I do not remember a single instance in which the word *conicio* occurs in this connection.

¹ *De Illustribus Grammaticis* 24.

Conjectural emendation, in the proper sense of the expression, seems to have existed in Roman antiquity only in the form of proposing to expel verses which, from their weakness or from some other reason, appeared to the critic of doubtful authenticity. Thus, for instance, Hyginus¹ complained of the lines in the sixth Aeneid *Eruet ille Argos Agamemnoniasque Mycenae, Ipsumque Aeaciden, genus armipotens Achilli, Ultus avos Troiae, templa et temerata Minervae. Potest*, said Hyginus, *medius eximi versus, qui de Pyrrho importune immisus est, quem Vergilius procul dubio exempturus fuit.* Just in the same way Probus² said of Aeneid I. 21 and 22 *hi duo si eximantur, nihilo minus sensus integer erit.* Neither Probus nor Hyginus, it will be observed, actually assert that the lines in question are spurious, though they make suggestions which point in that direction.

What textual criticism was in the second century A.D. may be inferred, to a considerable extent, from the examples of it which occur in the *Noctes Atticae* of Gellius. In every one of these³, except the discussion on the doubtful line of Vergil just quoted, the only question raised is (not what is to be conjectured, but) what is the reading of good manuscripts.

Were we fortunate enough to possess Probus's recension of Horace, we should probably find very few textual questions to discuss. As it is, all our manuscripts of Horace, as is well known, date from the Carolingian era, and are derived, if not from a single copy, at least from identical copies of the same edition. Of this fact there is plenty of evidence, positive and negative.

The only difficulty which arises at this stage of the discussion is started by the *subscriptio* of Mavortius. Vettius Agorius Basilius Mavortius was consul A.D. 527. At the end of the Epodes several manuscripts present us with the following *subscriptio*: *Vettius Agorius Basilius Mavortius V. Cl. et Inl. ex*

¹ Quoted by Gellius 10. 16. 18.

² Ap. Servium ad l.

³ A list of them will be found in the essay on the *Noctes Atticae*.

comite domestico ex cons. ordin. legi et ut potui emendavi conferente mihi magistro Felici oratore urbis Romae; words quoted in all the editions; but still, I think, often misunderstood. It is assumed by Keller, and by more than one English scholar, that Mavortius 'emended' Horace by his own conjectures. Yet editors of Horace find the greatest difficulty in pointing out what readings came from the hand of this emender¹. What proof, indeed, is there that Mavortius introduced a single conjectural emendation into the text of Horace?

We must interpret his *subscriptio* with the aid of the other and similar *subscriptiones* collected more than thirty years ago by Otto Jahn². In two cases the emender expressly states that he had no copy before him; in five others he says that he had some one to help him, or another copy; in six others nothing is mentioned but the fact of *emendatio*, *distinctio* (punctuation), or both. As I have already urged, there is no positive evidence of the existence of conjectural emendation in Roman antiquity. All that we need to suppose with regard to Mavortius (and the supposition will clear away all the difficulties connected with the subject) is that he had one copy before him and his friend Felix another, and that Mavortius noted down in his copy the variants which his friend read out to him. Some later scribes, copying Mavortius's manuscript, transcribed, throughout or in parts, both text and variants; others perhaps transcribed the text only; others again took the variants instead of the text; and hence it happens that some of the manuscripts which agree in having the *subscriptio* at the end of the Epodes differ, in other respects, so widely among themselves.

¹ Keller, in his *Epilegomena zu Horaz*, p. 786, after pointing out a few readings which he supposes to have a 'Mavortian' origin, remarks, 'So eminent klare Fälle sind nun leider selten.'

² *Berichte der Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, November 1851. They include one to Persius, which says *temptavi emendare sine antigrapho*; one to Vegetius, *emendavi sine exemplario*; one to the first decade of Livy, *emendavi ad exemplum parentis mei*; one to Paris's Epitome of Valerius Maximus, *emendavi descriptum Ravennae*; one to the Commentary on the *Sonnium Scipionis* by Macrobius, *emendabam vel distinguebam meum . . . cum Macrobio*, and one to *Martianus Capella*, *emendabam contra legente Denterio scholastico discipulo meo*.

Keller says that the Mavortian recension resembles, on the whole, the manuscripts of his second class. This brings us face to face with the question whether Keller and Holder's division of their manuscripts into three classes is based on a sound principle. I must confess that, while admitting, as of course, the existence of a better and an inferior set of copies, I am at a loss to understand the principle of this arrangement. The inferior class is no doubt distinguished from the rest by its insertion of the spurious lines at the beginning of the tenth Satire of the first book. But, with regard to the manuscripts of the first and second classes, the only question which arises is which reading, in a given instance, should be preferred; and here I find myself often inclined to reverse the places assigned by Keller to his manuscripts. Bentley, as is well known, put the *antiquissimus Blandinius* (the oldest of the Blankenberg manuscripts whose readings are reported by Cruquius) first among the copies with which he was acquainted. Modern critics have assigned to the oldest Bernese a rank about as high: but both are degraded by Keller to the second class. As I am not aware that the question has been thoroughly discussed in England, though Munro and other critics have expressed a general dissent from Keller's views, it may be worth while to examine Keller's arguments in detail. For if the *antiquissimus Blandinius* (*V*) and the oldest Bernese (*B*) are found still to hold their preeminence, the first class (if we are to have classes at all) must consist of these and of no others.

Taking *V* then first, let us ask on what grounds Keller has impugned the judgment of Bentley and so many other scholars? In his *Epilegomena* (pp. 801-2) he gives a list of what he calls the errors of this manuscript, which I will consider in his own order. The first is *accessit* for *arcessit*, 2 Epist. i. 168: but *accessit* probably represents *accersit*, which may well be right¹. 2 Sat. 8. 88 *anseris albae*. This cannot be called an error, for

¹ For a discussion of the forms *accerso* and *arcesso* I may be allowed to refer to my note on Aen. 6. 119 in Conington's Virgil, vol. ii (fourth edition).

geese are feminine in Varro R. R. 3. 10. 3. 4 Od. 6. 25 *Argivae Thaliae*, not *argutae*. Surely, as Bentley saw, there is much to be said for *Argivae*. 1 Sat. 6. 131 *campum lusumque trigonem* seems to me infinitely preferable to *rabiosi tempora signi*. 2 Sat. 7. 13 *Iam moechus Romae, iam mallet doctor Athenis Vivere*. *Doctor* is much better than the *doctus* of the other manuscripts. If a man is *doctus* in one place, he must be *doctus* in another; but there is real point in saying that a man lives as an adulterer at Rome and as a professor at Athens. It should be added that *doctor* has the support of the Pseudo-Acron. 2 Sat. 4. 44 *fecundae leporis*. Why this should be wrong I cannot imagine: Priscian (1. p. 169, Keil) says that *lepus* was of two genders. In 4 Od. 6. 21 (*ni tuis victus Venerisque gratae Vocibus*) it is difficult to decide between *flexus* (*V*) and *victus*; but *flexus* is not decidedly inferior. 4 Od. 1. 22-3 (*lyraque et Berecynthia Delectabere tibia Mixtis carminibus*), why should *Berecynthia tibia* (*V*) be decidedly wrong, and *Berecynthiae tibiae* decidedly right? A. P. 294 *praesectum unguem* must certainly be right, not *perfectum*. 3 Od. 24. 4 *mare publicum* is infinitely superior to *mare Apulicum*, even were the latter metrically possible. But if *mare publicum* is right, *Tyrrhenum* must be wrong. So it almost certainly is, for *terrenum*, proposed by Lachmann, is not a mere conjecture, as the note of Porphyryon points at any rate to a word which would give the same sense: *invehitur in luxuriam . . . non terram tantum verum etiam maria occupantem*. In 2 Sat. 2. 106 (*Uni nimirum recte tibi semper erunt res*), *rectae* (*V*) may be right; but even if not, the error is quite unimportant. In Epod. 2. 25 (*Labuntur altis interim ripis aquae*) it is not easy to decide between *rivis* (*V*) and *ripis*; but it would be rash absolutely to condemn *rivis*. In the same way *sumes* (*V*) may be right for *sumis* in 1 Od. 12. 2; *versemur* for *versetur* in 1 Sat. 3. 60; *cui contigit*, is for *cui contingit*, 1 Epist. 2. 46. In 2 Epist. 2. 16 *laedit* is certainly right, not *laedat*; in 1 Sat. 1. 108 *qui nemo*, not *nemon*; in 2 Sat. 3. 313 *tantum dissimilem*, not *tanto*; in 1 Epist. 16. 43 (as Keller admits) *res sponsore*, not *responsore*. With regard to *tonsor* as opposed to

sutor in 1 Sat. 3. 132¹, it may be observed that some manuscripts of the Pseudo-Acron, and the Cruquian *scholia*, in explaining the passage, have the words *abiecta ustrina*. *Ustrina* being here used for a barber's shop, I should conjecture that *sutrina* (in the other MSS.) was a mistake for *ustrina*, and the *sutor* crept into the text from *sutrina* in the comment.

Against these passages, in which, as it appears to me, the reading of *V* is certainly or probably right, or at least as good as that of the other manuscripts, must be set the following, where it is undoubtedly wrong:—4 Od. 2. 6 *cum super notas saliere ripas* for *quem . . . aluere*; 2 Sat. 6. 10 *ille* for *illi*; 2 Epist. 1. 167 *in scriptis* for *inscite* (*in scriptis* may be due to a gloss); 2 Sat. 3. 303 *portavit* for *cum portat*; 2 Sat. 8. 20 *pro me* for *prope me*; Epod. 2. 20 *purpura* for *purpuræ*; 2 Sat. 3. 188 *quaere* for *quaero*; 2 Sat. 8. 53 *quo* for *quod*; 1 Epist. 3. 4 *terras* for *turres*; 1 Epist. 8. 12 *venturus* for *ventosus*; 2 Sat. 7. 72 *visa* for *vasa*; 4 Od. 7. 17 *vitæ* (an obvious gloss) for *summae*; 3 Od. 19. 24 *habili* for *habilis*; 2 Sat. 3. 251 *primus* for *trimus*. But can it fairly be contended that these errors outweigh the merits of the other set of readings?

The superiority of the oldest Bernese manuscript (*B*) is not, to my mind at least, so obvious. Yet it has readings of such unquestionable merit that in any classification it should be placed in the first rank. Let us, for instance, take the Epodes. In 1. 21 it gives rightly (with others) *ut adsit*; in 1. 34 it reads *perdam nepos*, which is surely better than *perdam ut nepos*, *ut* being probably due to a gloss. In 2. 29 it stands alone in reading *tonantis annus hiberni Iovis*, as against *hibernus*. In spite of the epithet *tonantis*, *hiberni* may be right. In 5. 91, for *perire iussus*, it again stands alone in reading *perire visus*. Is not this much superior? The boy will seem to die, but will really live as a torturing spectre: compare Dido's words (Aen. 4. 384) *Sequar atris ignibus absens, Et, cum frigida mors*

¹ *Ut Alfenus vaser, omni
Abiecto instrumento artis clausaque taberna,
Tonsor (? sutor) erat.*

anima seduxerit artus, Omnibus umbra locis adero. In 16. 33 *B* and *V* agree with Porphyrius in the unquestionably right reading *ravos leones* as against *fulvos*, which is a gloss on *ravos*: compare Nonius, p. 164, *ravum fulvum*. In 17. 11 *B* has rightly *luxere* as against *unxere*; in v. 60 of the same poem *proderat* (*B*) is more idiomatic than *proderit*. Passing to the first book of the Satires we find *B* in 1. 12 giving *cantat* for *clamat*; a reading surely deserving consideration, for *cantat* is the rarer word, and *clamat* may well be a gloss. I am inclined to argue in the same way in favour of *amisso* in v. 27 for *amoto*, *amittere* being used in its old sense of 'letting go,' 'dismissing.' In 3. 91 (*calicem*) *proiecit*, the rarer, is probably right as against *deiecit*, the commoner word: Seneca, *Contr.* 1. 3. 2 (p. 78, Bursian), *quod ducta est ad saxum, quod inde proiecta*; Petronius, 52, *puer calicem proiecit*; Id. ap. Serv. on Aen. 3. 57 *et sic proiciebatur*. These specimens will be enough (considering that the critical *apparatus* of Keller and Holder exhibits all the facts bearing upon the question) to show my reasons for dissenting from Keller's estimate of *V* and *B*.

In the case of all ancient authors one must, in trying to establish a text, look for evidence collateral to that of the manuscripts in the quotations preserved by ancient writers, and in the ancient commentaries on the author when they survive. Perhaps the only reading of value in Horace preserved by a grammarian is *vagacem* in 3 Od. 14. 9, where the manuscripts and editions give *vagamem*. This is the reading of Charisius (or rather of Julius Romanus), p. 66, Keil. The ancient commentaries, however, suggest a not inconsiderable number of good readings. These commentaries, as is well known, bear the names of Acron and Pomponius Porphyrius; but the notes attributed to Porphyrius, though often good, are quite fragmentary, while those which bear the name of Acron are demonstrably spoiled by late additions. They are later than Priscian, whom in one place they quote. Besides these two sets of notes we have the *scholia* copied by Cruquius from his manuscripts, and published in his edition (Antwerp, 1578). It

is a mistake to speak of these notes as merely copied from those of Porphyrius and the Pseudo-Acron. Although in a vast number of instances this appears to be the case, the Cruquian *scholia* agreeing almost word for word with the other commentaries, there is a considerable *residuum* of notes which are peculiar to them alone, which, to judge from their style and quality, must clearly have been derived from an ancient source. I suppose that all the *scholia* are to be traced ultimately to some one ancient commentary, perhaps to that of Terentius Scaurus¹. Many of the comments coincide with notes in Nonius and Servius, which often represent the work of scholars of the second century A. D. But the commentaries on Horace have to a large extent been corrupted. The weakest point about them is their information about persons, in which they are so often demonstrably mistaken that it is unsafe to trust them when their statements are unsupported. With regard to the text the matter stands somewhat differently. In several instances they preserve readings unknown to our manuscripts, and taken, therefore, from an edition or editions different from that on which the manuscripts are based. With regard to the commentary of Porphyrius, Keller (*Epilegomena* p. 796) has no doubt that it is based on an older copy than the archetype of our manuscripts; but the other *scholia* he treats with great, and I think, undeserved contempt.

Let me give some examples of valuable readings to be derived from the *scholia*. In Epod. 5: 28 the manuscripts give *currens aper*; but the *scholia* of the Pseudo-Acron seem to postulate a reading *furens: currens, furens, ut ait Vergilius* (Aen. 10. 711), '*infremuitque furens et inhorruit armos.*' I suppose *currens* in the note to be a corrupt lemma, and the real word explained to be *furens*, which would give the exact sense required. Of Epod. 9. 17 I have spoken above (p. 155 foll.). In Epod. 10. 5 the manuscripts have *inverso mari*, but Porphyrius seems to have read *everso*. *Quid est*, he says, '*everso mari*'?

¹ Porphyrius, on 2 Sat. 5. 92, quotes a note of Scaurus on *capite obstipos* lived in the age of Hadrian.

an contrariis fluctibus? Now Vergil (Aen. 1. 43) says *ever-
titque aequora ventis*, but I have never met with an instance
of *invertere mare*. In 1 Sat. 4. 62 Porphyrius read *discerpti*
for *disiecti*, which may possibly be right. In 2 Sat. 3. 316 Por-
phyrius read *deliserit*, not *eliserit*: knocked down or knocked
to pieces. Of 3 Od. 24. 4 (*terrenum omne*) I have already
spoken.

VIII.

VERRIUS FLACCUS (I).

(PUBLIC LECTURE, Lent Term, 1881.)

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THE great work of Verrius Flaccus *De Verborum Significatu*, which may, I suppose, claim the title of the first Latin lexicon ever written, is unfortunately only known to us in fragments and abridgments. Of these abridgments one is completely, the other only incompletely, preserved. I will speak of the latter first. Its author, Pompeius Festus, probably lived not later than the second century A.D., as he is quoted by Julius Romanus, a grammarian of the beginning of the third century (ap. Charisium, 2. 220, Keil). The work of Festus now exists only in fragments, for the text of which we are dependent upon a single manuscript. If we may judge by his own utterances, his pretensions to scholarly endowment must have been small. He goes about his business in the truly destructive spirit of utilitarian learning. Festus, p. 218 (Müller) *cuius (Verrii) opinionem neque in hoc neque in aliis compluribus refutare mihi nunc necesse est, cum propositum habeam ex tanto librorum eius numero intermorta iam et sepulta verba atque ipso saepe confitente nullius usus aut auctoritatis praeterire, et reliqua quam brevissime redigere in libros admodum paucos*. Festus, it will be seen, has a pedantic contempt for all information not useful in his own time, and no scruple in setting up his own judgment against that of Verrius Flaccus. And thus he has evidently omitted much which in the second century would perhaps have been thought profitless, but which in the nineteenth would be regarded as invaluable.

Like a true pedagogue, he has no misgivings. He has none of the perhaps exaggerated but still salutary reverence for Latin antiquity which is so conspicuous in other writers of the second century, such as Fronto and Aulus Gellius, nor does he give any proof of independent critical power. His work is merely an affair of scissors and paste, in which conceit and incompetence are perhaps equally blended.

It is the Nemesis of free speculation, science, and literature, that they are born of practical necessities, and only continue to exist by stooping to serve them. One trembles to think what might have been the fate of Vergil and Horace had not their poems been early converted into lesson-books for schoolboys. The great work of Verrius suffered severely under the operation to which Festus subjected it; but its life was probably saved thereby. And Festus was in his turn overtaken by a righteous retribution at the time of the Carolingian revival. His book was then further abridged by Paulus, who, in the dedication of his epitome to Charles the Great, states that he has passed over everything superfluous and unnecessary which the prolixity of Festus had suffered to remain.

How much Festus omitted from the original work of Verrius Flaccus cannot be ascertained. But a comparison between Festus and Paulus in the passages common to both shows that a not inconsiderable number of glosses which still remained in Festus were left out by his epitomator. In the glosses which he retained Paulus seems to have made it his chief business to cut away the references to old Latin authors which Festus had still allowed to remain in illustration of the articles of Verrius. But this was not all. There are cases in which it can be shown that the epitome of Paulus sometimes attributes to Verrius views which we know from other sources that he did not hold. Thus on p. 2 Paulus says on the word *amoenus*, *amoena dicta sunt loca quae ad se amanda adliciant*. But from Isidore, 14. 9. 33, we learn that Verrius Flaccus derived *amoenus* from *munus*: *amoena loca dicta Varro ait eo quod solum amorem praestent et ad amanda adliciant: Verrius Flaccus, quod sine munere sint, nec*

quicquam in his officii, quasi amunia, id est sine fructu, etc. In the same way on p. 17 Paulus gives an account of the name Angerona, which, it appears from Macrobius (Sat. i. 10. 7), was the one accepted, not by Verrius Flaccus, but by Julius Modestus. It is sufficiently evident therefore that the epitome of Paulus gives but an inadequate idea, in point both of compass and of matter, of the work which it is supposed to represent.

About the life of Verrius Flaccus himself we know no more than what is stated by Suetonius in the seventeenth chapter of his treatise *De Grammaticis*. He was a freedman, and obtained renown chiefly by his method of teaching. This seems to have been neither more nor less than the introduction of the principle of competition. To exercise the wits of his pupils, says Suetonius, he used to pit against each other those of the same age, give them a subject to write upon, and reward the winner with a prize, generally in the shape of a fine or rare copy of some ancient author. For all this he was chosen by Augustus as tutor to his grandchildren at a salary of about £1000 a year (*centena sestertia*), on the condition of his taking no other pupils. From this time onwards he resided on the Palatine and gave his lectures in the *atrium* of the house of Catullus. He died an old man in the reign of Tiberius. He had a statue erected to his memory at Praeneste, where he had set up, engraved on marble, a calendar of his own arrangement¹. His character and manner of study were attacked, we know not for what reason, by a contemporary scholar, Scribonius Aphrodisius, a slave and pupil of Horace's master Orbilius. From all this it would appear that Verrius Flaccus was favoured by most of the outward circumstances that a scholar could wish for, leisure, long life, a competence, general appreciation, and good society. Besides his encyclopaedic work, the *De Verborum Significatu*, of which I wish to speak in detail in these essays, he wrote books *De Orthographia* (Suetonius Gramm. 19) and *Rerum Memoria dignarum*, of which Gellius (4. 5. 6) quotes the first,

¹ The remains of this calendar are edited in the first volume of the Berlin *Corpus Inscriptionum*.

and of which Pliny has apparently preserved something. He also wrote a treatise *De Obscuris Catonis*, which is cited by Gellius (17. 6. 2), and another on Etruscan antiquities (*Scholia Veronensia* on Aen. 10. 183 and 200). We also hear of a pamphlet on the god Saturnus (Macrobius 1. 4. 7; 8. 5), and of letters (*epistolae*) on literary subjects (Servius on Aen. 8. 423).

The abridgments of the *De Verborum Significatu*, which I mentioned above, are now most familiarly known to scholars in the edition published by Karl Otfried Müller at Leipzig in 1839¹. Not so much has been done since that time as might have been expected for the criticism of Festus and Paulus, although a great deal of attention has been given to later glossaries. I was led towards the end of 1879, while studying the criticisms on Vergil in Macrobius, to the opinion that some of those which relate to Vergil's employment of rare or antique expressions may be ultimately traced to Verrius Flaccus; and this conclusion induced me to investigate the relation of some other later Latin writings to the same author, and ultimately to inquire in detail into the general character of the *De Verborum Significatu*, the authorities on which it is mainly based, the form in which it is composed, and its general scope and aim. I found that, although Müller is to all appearance right in his main ideas as to the composition of the work, and more right, probably, than some recent scholars have been disposed to allow, in his view of the relation of the glosses of Festus to those of Placidus, much still remains to be said both on the original work of Verrius and on the remains of it which, in my opinion, may be discovered in later writers, notably in Quintilian, Gellius, Nonius, Macrobius, and Placidus.

I hope to contribute something in these two essays towards an elucidation of both these points, and propose in the first to say a few words on the composition and general character of the *De Verborum Significatu*, so far as they can be inferred from the abridgments through which alone we know anything of it.

¹ A new edition, by Von Ponor, is now in course of preparation.

It is a characteristic of the literature of the Augustan age, in its various branches, that it tends to sum up the results arrived at separately by writers of previous generations. In the sphere of style this epoch produced classical masterpieces, the works of Vergil, Horace, Livy, and Ovid; in that of philology and antiquities it produced works of reference, such as those of Hyginus, Fenestella, and Verrius Flaccus. The work of Verrius Flaccus may fairly claim to be called an encyclopaedia. Its title, *De Verborum Significatu*, gives but an inadequate idea of its contents, which embrace not only lexicographical matter, but much information on points of history, antiquities, and grammar, illustrated by numerous quotations from poets, jurists, historians, old legal documents, and writers on religious or political antiquities.

In ancient Italy the connection between literature and scholarship was organic, the study of philology having been almost as old as the creation of a national poetry. Livius Andronicus and Ennius¹ were not only poets, but interpreters of Greek. And their own works also soon began to be used as quarries for the scholar. In the train of the early masters of Latin poetry, Plautus, Naevius, Ennius, and the early tragedians and satirists, followed a crowd of interpreters who devoted themselves to the exposition of their works. This fact is partly due to the very nature of poetic diction; but there were also peculiar circumstances in the case before us which encouraged the growth of a science of interpretation. Since Plautus and Ennius hardly any Latin poetry was written without a study of Greek; and Italian style became more and more coloured with a tinge of Greek language and inflexion. Thus it came about that the Latin poets, whether they admitted Greek words into their verses, or gave new life to dying Italian words which the new fashion was banishing from common use, were not always easy to understand. A double interest was growing up among the

¹ Suetonius *De Grammaticis* 1, *Antiquissimi doctorum, qui idem et poetae erant et semigraeci, Livium et Ennium dico, quos utraque lingua domi forisque docuisse adnotatum est, nihil amplius quam Graecos interpretantur, etc.*

literary public. There was a desire to understand the older poets; there was also a desire to follow and continue their work as step by step they built up the fabric of Italian literature. Their productions were soon used as materials both for the education of youth and for the study of the professed scholar. Thus we find Octavius Lampadio busy with Naevius; Q. Vargunteius and Pompilius Andronicus with Ennius; Aelius Stilo, Volcatius Sedigitus, Servius Clodius, Aurelius Opilius, Sisenna, and Varro with Plautus; Laelius Archelaus, Vettius Philocomus, and Curtius Nicia with Lucilius. The study of grammar, which had been much furthered by the labours of the poets Accius and Lucilius, was developed by Julius Caesar, Varro, and Nigidius Figulus. It is less remarkable, owing to the obvious practical necessities of the case, that a long line of interpreters of Roman law can be traced as far back as the end of the third century B.C. At the head of this line stand the names of Publius and Sextus Aelius Paetus (consuls respectively 201 and 198 B.C.). Finally, the encyclopaedic labours of Varro, ranging from history, law, and antiquities to poetry and grammar, embodied in various works much of the material amassed by previous scholars.

The work of Verrius Flaccus is, so far as I know, the first attempt in the history of Latin literature at compiling an encyclopaedia of scholarship in the form of a dictionary alphabetically arranged. But long before his time it would appear that smaller works of the same kind had been attempted in the shape of glossaries to poets and legal documents. References to such works are to be found in the *De Lingua Latina* of Varro. In discussing the word *tesca*, Varro (*Ling. Lat.* 7. 10) quotes the opinion of persons *qui glossas scripserunt*: and in the same book (107) on the word *persibus* he says *sub hoc glossema 'callide' subscribunt*. It should be observed that in the seventh book of the *De Lingua Latina*, where Varro is discussing poetical words, there are in some passages distinct traces of an alphabetical arrangement. From § 9-12, for example, we have *templum tesca tueri*: from § 43-51 *ancile calus*

cōbium cortina duellum Iugula supremum tempestas: from § 88-92
alcyon comiter capio cicurare ferme: from § 98-101 *cerno frequens*
fossari mussare. This fact seems to point to the conclusion
that Varro was drawing upon glossaries alphabetically arranged,
written either to single poets or to several in combination.
But we have further indications of the existence of such works.
Verrius Flaccus (Festus p. 181 M.) quotes a *liber glossematorum* by
Ateius Philologus, a celebrated scholar of the Ciceronian age,
and elsewhere mentions *glossarum libri*. Santra, a scholar of the
same period as Ateius, wrote an important etymological treatise
De Verborum Antiquitate, which, it is natural to suppose, must
have been of a lexicographical character. About the same time
Aelius Gallus compiled a great work *De Significatione Verborum*
quae ad Ius Civile pertinent. And there may, indeed there must,
have been many *compendia* or handbooks of interpretation or
etymology in circulation for the purposes of ordinary education
and reading. Festus, p. 210, has made mention of *commentarii*
quidam. *Glossae antiquitatum, glossae veterum*, are also men-
tioned by Julius Cominianus, a grammarian of the fourth
century (Charisius pp. 229, 242, Keil).

Even in the ruins in which it lies, it is easy to see how large
must have been the proportions of Verrius Flaccus's work.
Festus speaks of reducing a great number of books to a few.
This means, not that Verrius's work was not arranged alpha-
betically, but that each letter was divided into books, which
Festus reduced until no more than one book was left for each
letter. This agrees with Festus's own quotation (p. 326) from
Verrius's fifth book of words beginning with the letter *P*: What-
ever the number of books under each letter, Festus reduced
them in every case to one, in which it is now barely possible to
trace the lines of any division at all.

Some idea of the original extent of the work of Verrius
Flaccus, and of what it has suffered at the hands of Festus and
Paulus, may be gathered from the quotations of Gellius. In 5.
18 of his *Noctes Atticae*, Gellius quotes a remark of Verrius on
the difference between *annales* and *historia* which is not in

Festus at all; in 5. 17 we have a citation from a very full account of the phrase *dies atri* or *nefasti*, originally in Verrius's fourth book; and in 16. 14 an account of the etymology of *festino*, which must have belonged to the note preserved by Festus p. 254, but which has disappeared from the epitome. In the same way Gellius 18. 7. 5 quotes a liber of Verrius Flaccus (did this belong to the *De Verborum Significatu*?) in which the meanings of *senatus*, *civitas*, *tribus*, and *decuria* are discussed at length, but of which Festus has preserved no trace. Even the fuller notes of Festus himself sometimes preserve a surprising number of examples, which give a tantalizing idea of the fulness of learning which we have lost.

Turning now to the works of Festus and Paulus, let us ask what they tell us of the scope and intention of their original. As I said above, the title of Verrius's work *De Verborum Significatu* might lead us to expect that its purpose was simply lexicographical in the narrower sense of the word. But this is not the case. There is a great number of articles which would now be relegated to a dictionary of history or mythology; others would be regarded as belonging to a dictionary of antiquities. Such are under the letter *A* the notes on *Ambrones*, *Ausonia*, *Ameria*, *Anxur*, *Ariminum*; under *B* those on *Beneventum* and *Bruttates*; under *C* those on *Collatia*, *Capua*, *Caecilius*, *Calpurnius*; under *M* those on *Misenum*, *Messapia*, *municipium*, *Mamilius*, *Mamertini*; under *R* that on *Roma*; under *S* that on *Saturnia*; and many other instances of the same kind might be added.

Again, there was a great deal of discussion on points of grammar and orthography. Such are the remarks on the gender of words, as under *A* on *armentum*; under *C* on *contio*, *contagio*, *clunes*; under *D* on *demus* and *demum*; under *F* on *frons*; under *M* on *parens* and *crux* (p. 151); p. 198 on *obsidio* and *obsidium*; p. 250 on *amnis*; p. 286 on *agnus*; p. 313 on *stirps*. Verrius noticed also such points of form as the declension of nouns, comparison of adjectives, and conjugation of verbs. Instances of this are his remarks (p. 4) on the defective *ambest*; p. 27 on *aliae* and *alius*; p. 81 on *exercitior* and *exercitissimus*, *exfuti*

and *effusi*; p. 92 on *falsius* and *falsior*; p. 103 on *im = eum*; p. 107 on *incensit* for *incenderit*, *incepsit* for *inceperit*; pp. 154-5 on *magnificior* and *munificior* for *magnificentior* and *munificentior*; p. 163 on *neminis* from *nemo*; p. 181 on *ocius* and *ocissime*; p. 247 on *pecuum* from *pecus*; p. 286 on *repulsior*, *ratissima*. There is also evidence to show that he must have given a great deal of attention to points of orthography. On p. 15, for instance, we find a notice of the spelling *amecus* for *amicus*; on p. 62 of *consiptum* for *conseptum*; on p. 72 of *distisum* and *pertisum* for *distaesum* and *pertaesum*; on p. 99 of the writing *heluo*. According to Charisius, Verrius Flaccus asserted that *camara* should be spelt with an *a*, not with an *e*; that *alica* had no *h*; that *manubiae* should be written *manibiae*; that *nomenclator* should be spelt without a *u* (Charis. pp. 58, 96, 97, 106 Keil). Charisius has also preserved observations of Verrius on the gen. pl. of *panis*, the gender of *clunes*, the forms *lacte*, *labra*, *labia*, and the acc. pl. *ambo* for *ambos* (pp. 141, 101, 102, 103, 119). Notwithstanding the frequency of these grammatical remarks (and more might be added to the list), the work of Verrius was in the main a Latin lexicon. The chief authorities from which illustrations were drawn are, so far as can be learned from our abridgments, the following: *Carmina Saliorum*, the laws of the Twelve Tables, the *libri pontificum* and the *carmina* of Marcius; the poets Livius Andronicus, Naevius, Ennius, Plautus, Caecilius, Pacuvius, Accius, Afranius, Terence, Lucilius, Atta, Titinius, Hostius, Turpilius, Novius, Pomponius, Lucretius, Catullus, Varro, Vergil, and Ovid; the historians Cato, Sisenna, and Sallust; the orators and rhetoricians Cato, Scipio Africanus, Annius Luscus, Gaius Gracchus, Laelius, Scipio Aemilianus, Sulpicius Rufus, Cornificius, Cicero, and Calidius; the scholars and antiquarians Fabius Pictor, Cincius, Aelius Stilo, Aurelius Opilius, Varro, Ateius Philologus, Ateius Capito, Antistius Labeo, Aelius Gallus, Veranius, and Valgius Rufus.

Among these authors the most frequently quoted are, I think, Accius, Afranius, Caecilius, Cato, Ennius, Lucilius, Naevius, Pacuvius, Plautus, and Varro.

The list ranges from the earliest monuments of Latin literature to the Augustan age; the citation latest in date being from Ovid, from whom our abridgments have preserved only one instance.

Let us now inquire how far the work of Verrius was original, and to what extent he drew upon previous authorities.

As Verrius wrote a book upon Cato, and also one upon orthography, it is reasonable to suppose that his numerous quotations from Cato, and the remarks on orthography of which I have given examples, are the result of his own researches. Müller thinks that the notes upon Cato were taken by Festus from the treatise of Verrius *De Obscuris Catonis*, and inserted by him in his abridgment of the *De Verborum Significatu*. We have nothing here but conjecture to guide us; but it would seem more natural to suppose that Verrius included his own notes on Cato in his greater work. Verrius may have written his special treatises, such as the *De Orthographia* and the *De Obscuris Catonis*, while his great work was in progress, or even before it was begun, and afterwards embodied their contents in it.

So much, therefore, of Verrius's work is probably original, or at least independent. I am disposed to think the same of the notes on Vergil. Nothing would be more natural than that Verrius should add instances from a recent poet, one of whose most prominent characteristics was a love of reviving old words. And I do not know that there is any evidence that any one before Verrius Flaccus wrote glossaries or a glossary to Vergil. It would be interesting to know what were the sources of his notes on Catullus, Lucretius, and Cicero; whether they were his own, or drawn from commentators or index-makers now forgotten. It is certainly strange that Festus and Paulus have not preserved a single note from Varro's *Saturae*. This, however, I am disposed to think, is an accident. For some of the lexicographical notes in Nonius, which can, as I hope to show in my second essay on that author, be proved to come from Verrius Flaccus, are illustrated from the *Saturae*, and I infer therefore

that Verrius had many instances from them collected either by himself or by others.

With regard to the older poets, Livius Andronicus, Naevius, Plautus, Ennius, Caecilius, Afranius, Terence, and Lucilius, we may be morally certain that Verrius, whether he had made an independent study of these writers or not, drew largely upon the works of the commentators and glossographers who had illustrated them. Besides the *glossematorum scriptores* whom he cites in the note on the word *naucum* (Festus p. 166), he several times mentions Aurelius Opilius, the commentator on Plautus. The note on *examussim* (Festus p. 80) can be shown by a comparison of a passage in Charisius (p. 198 Keil) to have been taken from Sisenna's Plautine commentaries. Numerous quotations from Lucilius are preserved by the epitomators. These may have been collected by Verrius himself, but we should remember that we know of three scholars who had worked at Lucilius before him, Laelius Archelaus, Vettius Philocomus, and Curtius Nicia. We have the evidence of Verrius himself that he drew largely upon the works of Aelius Stilo, the master of Varro, from whom (Festus p. 210) he quotes a comment on the *Carmen Saliare*, another (p. 290) on the Twelve Tables, and others (pp. 359 and 372) on the comedians and on Plautus, and to whom he often refers on questions of etymology and interpretation. On similar questions we often find him citing the work of Santra *De Antiquitate Verborum*. Ateius Philologus is used in the same way; on one occasion (Festus p. 181 s. v. *ocrem*) his *liber glossematorum* being specially referred to. He received assistance also from his contemporaries the poet-scholar Valgius Rufus, Ateius Capito, and Sinnius Capito. As Festus does not name any definite works by Sinnius Capito, we may perhaps conjecture that the contributions of the latter were paid in the way of personal intercourse or correspondence. On matters of law it is common for Verrius to cite Antistius Labeo, the work of Aelius Gallus *De Significatione Verborum quae ad Ius Civile pertinent*, and the legal commentaries of the augur Messala. Antistius Labeo, Ateius Capito, and Veranius are also referred to on questions of religious usage.

Points of historical antiquity are often illustrated from the writings of the antiquarian Cincius. The numerous notes on the names and early history of Italian cities I should suppose to be derived from the *Origines* of Cato; and it is also possible that Verrius obtained some assistance on these points from his contemporary Iulius Hyginus, who, in his book *De Urbibus Italicis*, had treated the same subject.

It is hardly necessary to say that Verrius drew largely upon the stores of historical and antiquarian information collected by Varro. But he quotes Varro more as an antiquarian than as a scholar. That the *Antiquitates* and the books *Rerum Humanarum* were used may be perceived even from the abridgment of Festus; but from the *De Lingua Latina* there are hardly any quotations. Too much stress should not be laid on this fact alone, considering the fragmentary character of the *compendia* by Festus and Paulus. Müller, indeed, goes so far as to assert that Verrius had not even read the *De Lingua Latina*. We are, perhaps, hardly warranted in drawing so extreme a conclusion; but a detailed comparison of the *De Lingua Latina* and of Festus, where the two works treat of the same words, puts it beyond dispute that Verrius Flaccus, though using the same authorities as Varro, was quite independent of him in his treatment of questions connected with the interpretation of words. I have examined a great number of passages in Varro and Festus which bear upon this point, and have found that in many cases their notes are independent, and in many more not only that they are independent, but that Verrius must have added matter and quotations which are not in Varro.

A remarkable difference between Varro and Verrius is to be observed in the matter of etymology. To judge from the epitome of Paulus, it would certainly seem as though Verrius had a predilection for deriving Latin words from Greek. It would be rash, perhaps, to infer that such was really the fact; for it may be merely that Verrius was careful to mention a Graecizing etymology whenever such a one had been proposed by any respectable authority. Be this, however, as it may, there can

be no doubt that Verrius is much more partial to the Graecizing process than Varro. There seem to have been two main schools of etymology among the Romans, one of which preferred explaining Latin words by assuming for them a Latin origin, while the other was fond of referring them, where possible, to a Greek source. Varro, if we may judge by the *De Lingua Latina*, belonged decidedly to the former class. Thus we find that in discussing the word *amnis* Verrius connects the Latin preposition *am* with the Greek ἀμφί, which Varro does not; and the like is the case with the words *angulus*, *agnus*, *annus*, and *orator*. Who were the representatives of the Graecizing school of etymology before Verrius Flaccus it is not easy to ascertain with certainty. The notes in Festus on *dalivus* (p. 68), on *nuptiae* (p. 170), and on *spinturnix* (p. 333), show that Santra was not averse to the Graecizing method, and Aelius Stilo (p. 174 *si lectio certa*) is said to have compared *novalis* with νεός, and (p. 206) to have derived *petaurista* from πρὸς τὸν ἀέρα πέτασθαι. In other cases, however, the etymologies cited from Aelius Stilo show no trace of this tendency. The name which survives as most definitely representing the Graecizing school is that of Hypsicrates, *cuius libri sane nobiles sunt super his quae a Graecis accepta sunt* (Gellius 16. 12. 6). This Hypsicrates is quoted by Varro, *De Lingua Latina*, 5. 88, and also by Verrius Flaccus (Paulus s. v. *aurum*). There is another scholar mentioned by Gellius as pushing the Graecizing method to an extreme, even to the extreme of deriving *fenerator* from φαίνεσθαι. This was Cloatius Verus (Gellius 16. 12), the author of a treatise in several books bearing the title *Verborum à Graecis tractorum*. Teuffel conjectures that Cloatius Verus lived in the time of the Antonines (*Gesch. der Röm. Lit.* § 338, 5). There seems to be no ground for this supposition beyond the fact that he is quoted by Gellius, and I think it is therefore worth while to ask the question whether Cloatius Verus is not the same as the Cloatius quoted several times by Verrius Flaccus on matters relating to sacrifices. One of Cloatius's etymologies, that which connected the words *alucinatio* and *elucus* together, and both with the Greek ἀλίεω (Gellius l. c.),

is still to be found in Paulus; p. 24 *alucinatio erratio*; p. 75 *elucum significat languidum et semisomnum, vel ut alii volunt alucinatorum et nugarum amatorem, sive halonem*. But it is no doubt rash to hazard a conjecture on so uncertain a matter.

I now come to a point the full consideration of which will, I think, be found to throw a great deal of light on the manner in which the work of Verrius Flaccus, and indeed a large part of similar work in antiquity, was composed.

Müller, in the preface to his edition, has observed four points in the arrangement of the books as we have them in their abridged form. (1) Each book may be divided into two parts, in the first of which regard is paid not only to the first letter of each word, but also to the second, and sometimes to the third. (2) The same word is often interpreted twice over, the writer sometimes giving different explanations in the different places. A word so repeated may occur in the first and the second part of each book, but never occurs twice in the first part. (3) In the second part of every letter we find a series of glosses illustrated from Cato, some from Plautus, and some remarks on religious law arranged together. (4) At the beginning of some letters we find words of religious signification placed apparently by way of good omen, as *Augustus* at the beginning of *A*, *Lucetium Iovem* at the beginning of *L*, *magnos ludos*, *Meltom*, and *Matrem Matutam* at the beginning of *M*, *naenia* at the beginning of *N*. This arrangement is not always observed in our epitome; a fact which Müller puts down to the havoc made by Festus with the original work.

Müller also notices that the quotations from the contemporaries of Verrius Flaccus, Veranius, and Antistius Labeo, are to be found at the end of the letters in which they occur, *M*, *O*, *P*, and *R*. And he infers from this that these citations, like those from Cato, were inserted by Festus from other works of Verrius Flaccus.

The facts elicited by Müller are undeniable, but they are not all. There is another phenomenon which has apparently escaped his notice, and which goes far, in my opinion, toward justifying us

in raising the question whether he has hit on the true explanation of the arrangement of the articles in Festus.

There are some traces even in the epitome of Paulus, and many more in the larger work of Festus, that Verrius arranged his instances under each letter *in successive series, each of which contained glosses headed by citations from the same author*. Müller noticed that many of the letters in Festus and Paulus are concluded by a series of examples from Plautus and Cato. But I wish to point out that not only in the second part and at the end of the letters, but in the first part and throughout them, there are distinct traces not only of Cato and Plautus, but of many other authors, having been used in the same way. At the risk of being tedious I must go into the details of a phenomenon which has so important a bearing on the problem before us. Taking the letter *A*, I have observed that on p. 4 Ennius is quoted twice, on p. 11 Livius Andronicus twice, on pp. 27-28 Plautus twice, on p. 29 Naevius twice. Under the letter *B*, on pp. 35-36 there are six quotations from Plautus. Under *C*, on p. 45 there are two quotations from Plautus, and on p. 59 two from Ennius and four from Cato, on pp. 60-63 twenty-four from Plautus, and on p. 62 two from Ennius. Under *F*, on p. 92 there are three quotations from Cato. Under *G*, on pp. 96-97 there are two from Plautus. Under *I*, on p. 108 there are two from Pacuvius, pp. 109-110 two from Plautus, and p. 113 two from Plautus. Under *M*, p. 123 there are two from Ennius, pp. 138-141 two from Aelius Stilo, p. 144 three from Ennius, p. 152 three from Cato, p. 153 two from Ennius, p. 154 six from Cato, p. 157 several from books of augural discipline. Under *N*, pp. 161-2 Plautus is quoted four times, Livius Andronicus twice, and Cato thrice, pp. 165-6 Plautus six times and Ennius thrice, on p. 169 Plautus four times and Cato thrice, on p. 170 Plautus twice and Afranius twice, on p. 174 Livius Andronicus twice and Accius twice, on p. 177 Caecilius and Ennius each twice and Cato twice. Under *O*, on p. 178 Ennius is cited twice, p. 179 Plautus twice, p. 181 Plautus twice, on p. 182 Cato thrice, pp. 198-201 Ennius four times, on p. 201 C. Gracchus twice and

Cato thrice. Under *P*, p. 205 we have two avowed and probably more unavowed citations from the *Carmen Saliare*, on pp. 206–209 two from Lucilius, on pp. 210–13 three from Lucilius, pp. 215–217 six from Plautus, p. 217 two from Naevius and as many from Pacuvius, on p. 229 three from Caecilius, three from Plautus and two from Pacuvius, on pp. 233–4 several from books of law and antiquities, on pp. 234–7 seven from Cato, on p. 238 two from Ateius Capito, on pp. 241–2 three from Ennius, p. 242 thirteen from Cato, p. 245 several from books of augury and law, p. 249 two from Ennius, pp. 249–253 several from Antistius Labeo, p. 253 two from Cato and others from books on augury, and p. 254 is taken up with notes on antiquities. Under *Q*, p. 257 there are two citations from Ennius, pp. 258–9 three from Ennius and two from Plautus. Under *R*, pp. 270–273 we have four from Lucilius, p. 273 two from Plautus, pp. 270–274 three from Pacuvius, p. 274 two from Plautus, p. 277 three from Plautus, two from Lucilius and as many from Afranius, pp. 277–8 three from Ennius and several from books of antiquities, pp. 278–81 four from Pacuvius, p. 281 two from Accius; pp. 281–2 five from Cato, p. 282 two from Ennius and two from Plautus, pp. 285–6 four from Ennius, p. 286 five from Cato, pp. 289–90 several from books of religious antiquities. Under *S*, pp. 291–3 we have several quotations from books of antiquities, on p. 294 Lucilius is quoted twice, pp. 294–8 Plautus four times, p. 298 Ennius four times, pp. 298–301 Lucilius twice, p. 301 Ennius six times, pp. 301–2 Plautus four times, pp. 302–305 Plautus five times and Ennius thrice, p. 306 Plautus four times, p. 309 books of antiquities, on p. 310 Lucilius and Plautus each twice, pp. 313–14 Ennius three times, pp. 314–17 books of antiquities, p. 317 Caecilius twice, pp. 317–18 books of augural discipline, p. 318 Cato twice, pp. 321–2 Naevius and the Twelve Tables each twice, pp. 329–30 Ennius six times, Plautus thrice, and Pacuvius twice, p. 333 Ennius thrice and Plautus twice, p. 334 Afranius twice, pp. 336–9 Ennius thrice, p. 339 Caecilius twice, pp. 343–4 books of antiquities, p. 343 Ennius and Pacuvius each twice, p. 344 Cato eight times, pp. 348–51 Antistius Labeo seven times,

p. 351 Ateius Capito twice. Under *T*, p. 351 Varro is cited twice, pp. 351-2 Ennius four times, p. 352 Pacuvius twice, p. 355 Plautus twice, Afranius twice and Caecilius twice, pp. 355-6 Pacuvius three times, p. 356 Ennius three times, pp. 359-63 Ennius four times, p. 366 Plautus twice. Under *V*, pp. 368-9 we have three quotations from Plautus, p. 369 two from Cato and two from Ennius, p. 372 three from Plautus and two from Pacuvius, pp. 375-6 four from Ennius, pp. 378-9 six from Cato. It should also be observed that the citations from the poets usually come together, and the same is true of those from the orators and the books of historical or religious antiquities.

Müller has shown that in several cases where a quotation from Plautus or Cato does not appear in the epitome of Plautus or Festus, the word annotated occurs in the works of those writers, and that we may therefore reasonably infer that if it occurs in a series of words which are undoubtedly from Plautus or Cato, it was probably illustrated, in the original work of Verrius Flaccus, from the works of one or of the other. Thus Müller has added the name of Plautus to three glosses now unnamed, in Plautus pp. 35-36, and nine to the list of fifteen pp. 60-63. A similar process should be applied, so far as possible, to the citations from other authors, before this part of our subject can be pronounced exhausted.

Arguing on the facts before him, Müller concluded that Verrius jotted down his notes and extracts on separate sheets, in no definite order, and thus gave them to his scribes to arrange and copy. The inference seems to me rather to be this: that Verrius took one author at a time, or commentaries on him, and arranged the notes which he made or extracted in alphabetical order, and that the whole of each letter is an aggregate of such separate series of authors. No doubt Varro pursued the same method in the seventh book of the *De Lingua Latina*, only on a much smaller scale. For in this book, which is devoted exclusively to the consideration of words used by the poets, we find a decided tendency to place together quotations

from the same author. In §§ 6, 7, 8, 9 there are two from Ennius, and so in §§ 12-13; in §§ 14-15 there are two from Accius, in §§ 19, 20, 21 three from Ennius, in §§ 22, 23 two from Pacuvius, in §§ 32-33 two from Ennius, in §§ 35, 36, 37 three from Ennius, in §§ 41-46 four from Ennius, in §§ 48-49 two from the same author, in §§ 54-58 five from Plautus, in §§ 61-64 four from Plautus, in §§ 66-70 five from Plautus, in §§ 77-79 three from Plautus, in §§ 87-88 two from Pacuvius, in §§ 95-96 two from Matius, in §§ 98-99 two from Plautus, in §§ 100-101 two from Ennius, in §§ 103-106 four from Plautus and two from Ennius, and in § 108 twelve from Naevius.

It has been said before that each letter in the work of Verrius was originally divided into several *libri* or books. I hardly know whether it is possible to trace any sign of this division in the fragmentary work which we now possess. It is, however, worth noticing that in several letters there is more than one series of quotations from the same author; thus under *N* we have a first Plautine series pp. 161-2, and a second p. 165, and on p. 162 a first Catonian series, and a second p. 169. So under *O* there are two series from Ennius, the first p. 178, the second p. 198, and the same phenomenon recurs elsewhere. May we infer that in these cases Verrius was making extracts from different glossaries, in each of which he found series of quotations from the same authors? And is there any connection between these different series and the separate *libri* into which the letters were divided? There are numerous instances in Paulus and Festus of a word being commented on twice. This phenomenon is easily explained by the facts to which I have already endeavoured to call attention. The double glosses owe their existence to the accident that Verrius found a word first in one and then in another author; thus *patulus bos* is mentioned in a Plautine series p. 221, and in another p. 229.

The method of arrangement according to authors meets us again in the works of the philological writers of the second, third, and fourth centuries A. D., Aulus Gellius, Julius Romanus, and Nonius: and I hope also to be able to show that there are

traces of it in some of the Vergilian criticisms of Macrobius. This fact must be taken into consideration in investigating the authorities used by these writers, and may sometimes be found of importance in determining their relation to Verrius Flaccus.

But before attempting to trace the fortunes of Verrius's work in the first five centuries A. D., it will be well to say a word or two on its position in Roman literature, and on its value for the purposes of Latin scholarship in our own day.

In the *De Verborum Significatu* the first systematic attempt was made in the history of Roman literature to form an alphabetical encyclopaedia of interpretation, grammar, and antiquities. Previous scholars had amassed an enormous amount of information upon separate subjects, but in a form that was neither attractive nor always easily accessible to the literary world. Varro, the greatest of Roman scholars and antiquarians, wrote in a style and adopted an arrangement which made reference to his works exceedingly difficult. The advantages of an alphabetical arrangement in the case of a work of general reference, such as that of Verrius Flaccus was intended to be, need not be pointed out.

But, as we have seen, Verrius did not strictly observe an alphabetical order beyond the first letters of the words. His book still bore traces of its origin from separate commentaries, treatises, and monographs. Under every letter there are the clearest indications, where the hand of the epitomator has left anything but the barest skeleton, that the same authors were cited in single series. It would appear further that each letter included more than one series from the same author, and was divided, in some manner which we cannot now ascertain, into separate *libri* or sections. Thus the *De Verborum Significatu*, though in its general character an encyclopaedia, did not altogether lose the interest attaching to a literary production.

When we examine the relation of Verrius's work to that of the scholars into the fruits of whose labour he entered, we find that he is by no means to be set down as a mere compiler.

There can hardly be a doubt that the notes upon Cato were the result of his own studies, and this was probably the case also with his notes on Vergil, and perhaps with those on Cicero, Lucretius, and Catullus. That he had views of his own on points of grammar and etymology is proved by the statements of later writers, who mention his name with respect as that of an independent authority. And it would thus be unjust, taking all things into consideration, to deny him a place among the best writers of the great literary epoch to which he belonged.

And, as far as we know, his work was never superseded or displaced except by abridgments of itself. This fact is due partly to its real merits and its wide compass, partly to the course of literary history. The work of Verrius belongs to a time when the science and art of grammar were as yet not quite definitely separated from the cognate branches of literature. There must have been many notes of Verrius Flaccus, if we may trust his epitomators, which in a later age would have been relegated from a dictionary to a grammar. In the hands of the scholars of the first century, such as Remmius Palaemon, grammar was developed into a separate art, and no subsequent attempt was made, on a scale worthy of the enterprise, to re-embody the results of grammatical study in a comprehensive lexicon.

In its relation to modern philology, the work of Verrius may be considered from two points of view, as a quarry of information for the student of Latin, and as offering several unsolved problems for constructive criticism. As a quarry of information it cannot be said even yet to be exhausted. The difficulties of Latin etymology are immensely increased by the fact that many important Latin words seem to have attained to their ordinary usage quite independently of their possible cognates in the kindred Indo-germanic languages. For most of the important occasions of life the Italians developed a vocabulary of their own long after their separation from their brethren of India, Greece, and the North and West of Europe. It is therefore often merely a barren toil to set Latin words side by side with

their supposed cognates, unless we also take care strictly to interrogate the Latin language itself as to the sense in which the Italians generally accepted and employed them. Yet how little do we really know of this general acceptance and usage! How can we estimate adequately the loss which Latin letters have sustained in the destruction (to take a single instance) of most of the works of Varro! All the more need in an age like ours, in which the spirit of research is happily alive, to cling to such relics as we still possess of Italian antiquity. For the student of this subject Verrius Flaccus is still a great authority, and the words even of Paulus must often be conned and conned again before the mind of the etymologist or antiquarian can be made up.

This being so, it is clear how important a problem it is for the critic to constitute what remains of the text of Verrius Flaccus on a sound basis. Something remains to be done even with the epitomes of Paulus and Festus. But there is a more difficult and delicate problem, the partial solution of which is not, I think, beyond the reach of modern scholarship. This is to determine to what extent the glosses in Paulus and Festus can be supplemented by the remains of the original work of Verrius which may be found in later writers, who drew, not upon the abridgment of Festus, but upon other excerpts or abridgments, or upon the *De Verborum Significatu* itself. In the following paper I hope to be able to point out generally the line which such an investigation should follow, and in particular to notice some of the quotations from Verrius which are to be found in Quintilian, Pliny, Suetonius, Gellius, Nonius, Macrobius, and Placidus.

VERRIUS FLACCUS (2).

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IN this essay I wish to consider some points connected with the fortunes of the *De Verborum Significatu* in the first five centuries of the Christian era. The main question which I would raise is whether the philological writers of those centuries have preserved fragments of Verrius other than those which have survived in the epitomes of Festus and Paulus.

I observed in my preceding essay that the work of Verrius was the first great encyclopaedia, alphabetically arranged, that was known in Roman literature. That it should be largely consulted by the scholars and antiquarians of the first and second centuries is only what we should expect, and there is evidence enough that this was the fact. Let us first take two celebrated scholars of the first century, Quintilian and Pliny the Elder. Quintilian was not a professed philologist, but he sometimes has occasion to touch lightly on questions of etymology and antique expression. In his first book (4, § 13) he alludes to such archaisms as *Valesii*, *Fusii*, for *Valerii* and *Furii*, *mertare* for *mersare*, *faedos* for *haedos*, *duellum* for *bellum*, *stlocus* for *locus*. Now it can hardly be an accident that every one of these words is to be found in Festus and Paulus¹. *Valesius* and *Fusius* are discussed in Paulus, p. 33; *mertare*, pp. 81 and 124, *faedos*, p. 84; *duellum*, p. 66; *stlocus*, p. 313.

¹ It is, however, possible that Quintilian had before him not the *De Verborum Significatu*, but the *De Orthographia* of Verrius. Quintilian and Terentius Scaurus in his *De Orthographia* seem to have followed the same authority. Of course Verrius may have embodied much of his *De Orthographia*, if not all of it, in the *De Verborum Significatu*.

A little further on, in § 25, Quintilian touches on the origin of some of the most familiar among the Roman *cognomina*, such as *Rufus*, *Sulla*, *Burrus*, *Galba*. Without wearying my readers by quoting the list in full, I may mention that out of eighteen names, seven, *Rufus*, *Burrus*, *Plautus*, *Opiter*, *Cordus*, *Postumus*, *Marcipor*, are to be found explained in the epitomes of Paulus and Festus, while two others, *Agrippa* and *Vopiscus*, are mentioned in Pliny (H. N. 7. 47), and in the last book of Nonius, whose work *De Compendiosa Doctrina* was, in its more strictly lexicographical portions, largely drawn, directly or indirectly, from Verrius Flaccus, as I shall hope to show further on¹.

But we have not yet done with Quintilian. In the sixth chapter of his first book he protests against the use of certain archaisms, to wit, *topper*, *antigerio*, *exanclare*, and *prosapia*. These words are all to be found in Festus, and so again are some others mentioned by Quintilian in the same chapter, *pacunt*, *lupus femina*, and the names *Italia*, *Beneventum*, and *Quirinalis*. In the fifth chapter (§§ 8, 13) Quintilian mentions a word *ploxenum*, which he says Catullus picked up somewhere in the neighbourhood of the Po. Now Festus, p. 230, has a gloss on this word which he illustrates by a line of Catullus, *gingivas vero ploxei habet veteris*. The inference readily suggests itself, when the other passages to which I have alluded are considered, that Quintilian took his remark from Verrius Flaccus, or possibly from some book of extracts from him.

I pass on now to a passage in the eighth book of Quintilian (3. § 25) where the same phenomenon recurs. Quintilian is here noticing some antiquarian expressions used by Vergil, *olli*, *quianam*, and *porricere* (if this be the true reading). On these words again we find notes in Festus and Paulus; '*ollic*, *illic*,' p. 196; *quianam*, p. 257; *porricere*, p. 218. Besides these Quintilian has something to say of some other words, *quaeso*, *oppido*, and *autumo*. Notes on *quaeso* and *oppido* will be found

¹ Lists of *cognomina* may have been taken from the book of Cornelius Epicadus *De Cognominibus*; Charisius p. 110 Keil.

in Festus (pp. 259 and 184); upon *autumo* I must be allowed to pause for a moment. *Autumo*, says Quintilian, *tragicum est*. It so happens that in Festus and Paulus there is no note on this word. But Nonius, p. 237, has one in which he illustrates it by a quotation from Lucilius, another from Plautus, and three from Pacuvius. Now Pacuvius was the writer who was above all others the representative of the old Roman tragedy. I think it therefore highly probable that Quintilian had before him some handbook in which *autumo* was illustrated from Pacuvius, as it is in Nonius; and if I succeed in rendering it probable that Nonius borrowed largely from Verrius Flaccus, it may perhaps be allowable to conjecture that Verrius had some note of the kind. In the same chapter, § 31, Quintilian remarks on the word *expectoro*, which is quoted by Paulus p. 80.

Let us now turn to the elder Pliny, who in his Natural History several times quotes Verrius Flaccus as an authority upon remarkable phenomena of nature. Pliny is here probably using, not the *De Verborum Significatu*, but the work of Verrius entitled *Rerum Memoria dignarum*. But Pliny also wrote a grammatical treatise *De dubio Sermonè*, of which portions are quoted by Julius Romanus, a scholar who (if we may trust the evidence collected by Keil in his preface to Charisius and Diomedes) seems to have flourished about the beginning of the second century A. D. Verrius Flaccus did not write a special treatise upon grammar; but I have endeavoured to show in the preceding essay that there was a great deal of grammatical matter in the *De Verborum Significatu*. That Pliny actually consulted this work can be shown by express quotations, preserved by Julius Romanus¹, and there are other indications of the same fact. The note, for instance, in Charisius, p. 120 (Keil) on *aeribus* from *aes*, is illustrated by a passage from Cato,

¹ Charis. p. 126 *Verrius Flaccus; inquit Plinius, eorum nominum quae -ns finiuntur casu nominativo ablativus in e derigendus est. P. 141 panium Caesar de analogia libro ii dici debere ait. Sed Verrius contra.* This note, like the one preceding it and following it probably comes from Pliny.

and it is remarkable that on the twenty-seventh page of Festus there is also a note on the same word illustrated from Cato. There is a striking correspondence between the notes on *supellex* in Charisius, pp. 143, 144, and that in Festus, p. 294. We may notice also the following parallel notes: on *fures*, gen. *furum*, Charisius, p. 137, and Paulus, p. 92; *femur* and *femen*, Charisius, p. 130, and Paulus, p. 92; *im*, Charisius, p. 133, and Paulus, pp. 103, 261; *neminis*, Charisius, p. 138, and Paulus, p. 162; *siremps*, Charisius, p. 143, and Paulus, p. 344. Some of these notes of Romanus avowedly come from Pliny, and it may be taken as almost certain that Pliny drew largely upon Verrius.

There is another point on which I wish to remark in connection with the quotations from Julius Romanus which Charisius has preserved. It is that in some cases they are arranged on the principle which we have already observed as underlying the order of words in Verrius Flaccus. Words from the same authors are quoted in separate series. This is notably the case with the alphabetical list of adverbs cited from Julius Romanus by Charisius, pp. 194-224; a fact which suggests the inference that it was taken from some work of a lexicographical character already arranged upon this plan. So it is with the catalogue of interjections, likewise from Julius Romanus, given by Charisius, p. 239, only that this is not alphabetical. It may further be observed that the range of authors quoted corresponds in the main with that of the *De Verborum Significatu*.

Verrius Flaccus is again often quoted by Velius Longus, another scholar of the age of Trajan. But it may be that Velius Longus, writing as he did on orthography merely, is quoting, not the *De Verborum Significatu*, but the *De Orthographia*, of Verrius.

An encyclopaedic work containing a collection of miscellaneous information partly on natural philosophy, partly on the history, antiquities, and public and private life of the Romans, was compiled by Suetonius. Of Suetonius's *Pratum* (for thus it was entitled by its author) there is good reason for supposing

that much has been preserved by Isidore. The scope of the work was different from that of the *De Verborum Significatu* of Verrius, though there were many points where the two would coincide; and it would be rash to assert that Suetonius made any very extensive use of the work of Verrius, when he might have easily taken his materials directly from Varro. But later in the second century, if I am not mistaken, Aulus Gellius studied Verrius Flaccus a great deal; indeed he has, as I remarked in my previous paper, preserved parts of the *De Verborum Significatu* which have disappeared from our epitomes.

If it be true that Festus lived in the age of the Antonines, this fact alone would show that a great deal of attention was paid to Verrius Flaccus at that epoch. The need for an abridgment of the *De Verborum Significatu* would not otherwise have arisen. The revived interest in old Latin, which reached its highest pitch in the age of the Antonines, would make the study of Verrius indispensable to literary men. And so, although the name of Verrius is not by any means always mentioned, we find a great many traces of his learning in Gellius. I have at present noticed the following, and there may be many more. Gellius, 1. 16. 1, has a note on the phrase *mille hominum*, which he illustrates from Claudius Quadrigarius, Lucilius, Varro, Cato, and Cicero. Festus, p. 153, preserves the words *mille singulariter dicebant*; comp. also p. 158. Gellius, 2. 6. 5, says, *taxare pressius crebriusque est quam tangere*. There is a note on *taxare* in Festus, p. 356. In the same chapter of Gellius (§ 21) we may compare the remarks on *squalere* with those in Festus, p. 328. Gellius, 2. 10, has a long note on the word *favisae*, which I suspect is drawn from one abridged on the 88th page of Paulus. In Gellius, 2. 21. 6, there are some observations on the word *triones* which remind us of the note in Festus, p. 339. Gellius, 3. 18. 1, *pedarii senatores* = Festus, p. 210. Gellius, 4. 3. 3, *agnus femina* = Festus, p. 286. In Gellius, 5. 6, there is a discussion of the different kinds of crowns awarded by the Romans, which contains a great deal of

matter taken from Verrius Flaccus: see Festus, pp. 367, 191, 42, 195, 144. So it is with the note on *Veiovis*, *vesculus*, and their cognates in Gellius, 5. 12. 1: compare Festus, p. 379. The note on *dies atri* and *nefasti* in Gellius, 5. 17, is avowedly taken from the fourth book of Verrius's work, although it has not survived in our epitomes; and the case is precisely the same with the observations on *historia* and *annales* in the next chapter. In chapter 21 of the same book we find the word *compluriens* defended by the authority of Cato; and it is illustrated from Cato in Paulus, p. 59. In Gellius, 10. 15, the interpretation of *classis procincta* reminds us of the similar words in Paulus, p. 56, and the quotation from Varro at the end of the chapter recalls the note on *albus galerus* in Paulus, p. 10. The note on *ovis* masculine in Gellius, 11. 1. 4 = Festus, p. 286; on *bovinator*, Gellius, 11. 7. 7 = Paulus, p. 30; on *per lancem liciumque*, Gellius, 11. 18. 9 = Festus, p. 117; on *lictor*, Gellius, 12. 3 = Festus, p. 115¹; on *intra*, *citra*, and *ultra*, Gellius, 12. 13. 7 = Paulus, pp. 42, 379; on *suculae*, Gellius, 13. 9 = Festus, p. 301; on *bellaria*, Gellius, 13. 11. 7, may perhaps correspond with Paulus, p. 35; on *frons* masculine, Gellius, 15. 9 = Festus, p. 286. The definition of *atrium* given by Gellius, 16. 5. 2, is the same as that in Paulus, p. 13, and the note on *vescus* in the same chapter is illustrated by the same passage from Lucretius in Paulus, p. 368. Traces of the note given by Gellius, 16. 6, on *bidens*, are to be found in Paulus, pp. 33 and 35. Three of the words explained in the next chapter, *botulus*, *arillator*, and *cutis*, are explained also in Paulus, pp. 35, 20, and 51. The notes on *adsiduus*, *sanates*, *vas*, *talio*, *proletarius*, given in Gellius, 16. 10, are in Paulus, pp. 9, 321, 348, 377, 363, 226, 117. Those on *alucinari* and *fenerator* in Gellius, 16. 12 = Paulus, pp. 24, 100, 75, 86, 94. Gellius's comment on *municipes* (16. 13. 6) is part of a fuller one preserved by Festus, p. 127. The next note, on *festinare*, is avowedly from Verrius Flaccus, and part of it still remains in Festus, p. 234. Gellius, 16. 17, on

¹ Gellius professes to quote Valgius Rufus: but he was also one of Verrius's authorities; see Festus, p. 297.

Vaticanus = Paulus, p. 379; 17. 6, on *servus recepticius* = Festus, p. 282, the source being here acknowledged. The remarks on *inseco* in Gellius, 18. 9. 2, stand in close relation to those in Festus, pp. 111 and 337; Gellius, 19. 13, on *nanus* = Festus, p. 176; and the list might doubtless be lengthened by other instances.

It may be, of course, that Gellius in these instances is only quoting independently from the same sources as Verrius Flaccus. But I cannot help suspecting that, at least in the majority of instances, he borrowed a great deal at second hand either from Verrius himself or from writers who had made extracts from him, as Probus in his *Silva Observationum Sermonis antiqui* and Caesellius Vindex in his *Lectiones antiquae* must undoubtedly have done. One must be careful, in dealing with a writer like Gellius, not to take too seriously his professions of independent research. His statements must be tested by the evidence of other facts; and there are, I think, in this case other facts which point to the conclusion that his debt, direct or indirect, to Verrius Flaccus is, to say the least, much more considerable than he himself acknowledges. Some indications of the nature of his proceedings will, I hope, be afforded by an examination of the relation of Nonius to Verrius Flaccus. I shall endeavour to show that the numerous coincidences between Gellius and Nonius are due to the fact of both writers having independently used the same authorities; that Nonius in the lexicographical parts of his work constantly copies Verrius; and that the points of agreement between Nonius and Gellius may often be explained by supposing that Gellius copies him likewise.

Carlyle has said that there must be somewhere, if only we could discover him, a greatest fool in the world. In the world of scholars Nonius has generally been regarded as playing this entertaining part. Let us deal kindly with one who was willing to make so great a sacrifice. It is not necessary to go again over the long catalogue of Nonius's transgressions against the rules of sense and sound learning. Nor am I sure that a fair judgment would pronounce his work to fall much below

the standard which an African of the fourth century A.D. might be expected to attain. Even Julius Romanus, in the second century, was, if we may judge by his lists of conjunctions and interjections preserved by Charisius, fully as ignorant and careless as Nonius¹. The productions of such writers are valuable only for what they preserve of the work of older authors. It is a matter of the utmost importance to ascertain, if possible, what were the sources from which Nonius drew the materials for his lucubrations.

The theory which finds most favour among recent scholars (Hertz, Schmidt, Schottmüller, and Riese) is that Nonius copied largely from Gellius, and that the remaining or non-Gellian part of his book is patchwork made up out of commentaries on the writers whom he quotes. The arguments for this position are mainly two; first, that there are many remarkable, nay, almost verbal, coincidences between Gellius and Nonius, and even that the order of those passages in Nonius follows the order of the books in Gellius; secondly, that Nonius throughout all his work observes the method of quotation by series of authors, as we have seen was the case with Verrius Flaccus. This fact, it is contended, points obviously to the conclusion that where Nonius is not borrowing from Gellius, he must have made extracts from single commentaries in succession.

I would observe, first, that whether Nonius studied commentaries independently or not, there can be little doubt that in those parts of his work which can be classed as lexicographical or antiquarian, his debt, direct or indirect, to Verrius Flaccus² is considerable. The lexicographical parts of the *De Compendiosa Doctrina* are Books 1 (*De Verborum Proprietate*), 2 (*De Honestis et nove Veterum Dictis*), 4 (*De Varia Significatione Sermonum*), 5 (*De Differentia Similium Significationum*), 6 (*De*

¹ He supposes the adverb *confecto* may be an impersonal verb (Charisius, p. 197); he illustrates *inaurate* (the adverb) by *inauratae mulieris* (ib. p. 200); he thinks that *nullus* in *nullus dixeris* is an adverb (p. 207).

² That the works of Verrius Flaccus were known in some form in Africa at the end of the third century A. D. is shown by Arnobius I. 50, *quamvis Caesellios, Epicados (?), Verrios teneatis omnes et Nisos*.

Impropriis), and much of 12 (*De Doctorum Indagine*). In the first book I have ascertained that about a third of the glosses are identical, or nearly so, with glosses in Paulus or Festus. In the second book the proportion is much smaller, but in this some 140 notes may in like manner be traced to Verrius Flaccus. In the fourth, fifth, and sixth books the number of coincidences with Paulus or Festus dwindles very much; in the twelfth book the proportion is larger. By the antiquarian portions of Nonius I mean Books 13 (*De genere Navigiorum*), 14 (*De genere Vestimentorum*), 15 (*De genere Vasorum vel Poculorum*), 16, now lost, (*De genere Calciamentorum*), 17 (*De colore Vestimentorum*), 18 (*De genere Ciborum et Potuum*), 19 (*De genere Armorum*), 20 (*De Propinquitate*). In the eighteenth book a third, in the nineteenth half of the glosses may be traced to Verrius Flaccus. In the rest of these books and in the grammatical portions of the work (Books 3, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, and part of 12) the proportion of these coincidences is much smaller; but I think I am justified in saying that about one-seventh of all the notes in Nonius stands in close relation to glosses in Paulus or Festus.

I am not sure that this fact has been noticed as it deserves by the scholars who have recently discussed the question. Passing over for the moment any inferences which it suggests as to the sources of Nonius's work, I may observe that it is of immense importance as enabling us, in many cases, to reconstruct, at least in part, the mutilated glosses of Verrius Flaccus. Let me offer a few instances in illustration of my meaning. Paulus, p. 18, has the following note: '*atroces appellantur ex Graeco, quia illi ἀτρωκτα vocant quae cruda sunt.*' Nonius, p. 76, says *atrox crudum: Naevius Belli Punici lib. 3, 'simul atrociam porricerent exta ministratores.'* Here it would appear that we have two fragments of the same gloss, one giving an etymology of *atrox* from ἀτρωκτος, the other illustrating the word from Naevius. Paulus, p. 118, *latrones eos antiqui dicebant qui conducti militabant, ἀπὸ τῆς λατρείας.* Nonius, p. 134, *latrocinari, militare mercede.* He illustrates from Plautus and Ennius, the

words of the latter being *fortunasque suas coepere latrones Inter se memorare*. Again we have two fragments of one gloss, which originally included instances both of *latrones* and of *latrocinari*. Paulus, p. 369, *velitatio dicta est ultro citroque probrorum obiectatio, ab exemplo velitaris pugnae*. Plautus; 'Nescio quid velitati estis inter vos.' Nonius, p. 3, *velitatio dicitur levis contentio, dicta ex congressione velitum*. Nonius illustrates by two passages from Plautus, one of which is the same as that quoted in Paulus, as well as from Turpilius, Afranius, and Caecilius. Festus, p. 364, *temetum vinum*. Plautus in *Aulularia*: 'Cererine, Strobile, has [sunt] facturi nuptias? Qui? Quia temeti nil adlatum intellego.' *Temetum* and *temulentus* are then illustrated from Novius and Afranius. Nonius, p. 5, *temulenta est ebriosa, dicta a temeto, quod est vinum, quod attentet*. He illustrates the word by the same passage from the *Aulularia*, another from the *Truculentus*, and more from Cicero and Varro.

My contention is that in these instances, and numbers of others which I could quote did space permit, a comparison between Nonius and Paulus enables us to recover large parts of the original glosses of Verrius Flaccus. But besides coincidences in detail, there are two general points of resemblance between the works of Nonius and of Verrius Flaccus which should not be overlooked. One is (and this is very important) that the range of authors quoted by these two writers is in the main the same, though Nonius lived some two hundred and fifty years after Verrius. Verrius naturally stops at the Augustan age, and so, with a very few exceptions, does Nonius. The exceptions too are such as almost to prove the rule. One of them is a citation from Apuleius, and the others are from Septimius Serenus, both Africans, and both almost pedantic students of antiquity. None of the other citations in Nonius are from authors later than the Augustan age. Whatever, therefore, may have been the sources of his work, the writers whom he quotes are in the main the same as those from whom Verrius draws his illustrations.

Another point of correspondence between Nonius and Verrius is their method of quotation by series of authors. On this I have perhaps said enough already; but I would observe here that the fact may be used quite as easily to show that Nonius drew upon Verrius, or upon extracts from his book, as that he used isolated commentaries. And what if it can be shown that the very series in Nonius and Verrius sometimes coincide? Paulus, p. 61, has a note in a Plautine series on *capulum*, and so Nonius, p. 4. In Paulus, p. 96, *gestio* is apparently quoted in a series of words from Terence; it is illustrated from Terence in Nonius, p. 32. Nonius, pp. 85 and 86, comments on the words *coquitare* and *agnus curio*, heading both his lists of instances with a quotation from Plautus; now these words occur also in a Plautine series in Paulus, pp. 60 and 61. So with the very first word on which Nonius has a note, *senium*, which is illustrated from Caecilius both by Nonius and by Festus, p. 339, a page on which there are distinct traces of a series of words illustrated from Caecilius.

Supposing Nonius, then, to have been making extracts from series of authors, he might as easily, indeed more easily, have taken them from Verrius or from some abridgment of Verrius, in which he would find them manufactured ready to his hand, as from individual commentators.

But indeed the more one studies Nonius, the more clearly will it, I think, appear that his work *De Compendiosa Doctrina* is a series of extracts not from commentaries, but from works of reference. Much of the lexicographical part comes, as we have seen, from Verrius Flaccus; much of the grammatical part can, by a comparison of parallel passages in Charisius, Diomedes, and Priscian, be shown to be derived from Pliny and Probus; and I suspect that much of the antiquarian part is from the same sources as the corresponding portions of Isidore, the *Pratum* of Suetonius being, not improbably, one of the most important of them.

But, it will be said, 'It may be conceded that Nonius took large parts of his work not from original commentaries, but

from abridgments of lexicons and books on grammar; are you, however, prepared to deny that he borrowed largely from Aulus Gellius?' That he did so has been argued at length in an elaborate treatise by Martin Hertz (*Jahrb.* 85, pp. 706-726; 779-797), whose theory, so far as I know, has been accepted by recent scholars as one of the bases of all further investigation. And yet I hope to make it probable that Nonius did not borrow from Gellius at all; nay, that there is nothing to show that he had ever read Gellius.

(1) I have made a list, partly with the valuable aid of Hertz's dissertation, of passages common to Nonius and Gellius. Now it cannot be denied that the coincidences of all kinds are very striking; and that very often appearances are in favour of supposing that Nonius is, in a blundering way, abridging Gellius. But it not seldom happens that Nonius gives illustrations which are not to be found in Gellius. This is the case with the notes on *putus* Gellius, 7. 5, Nonius, p. 27; *privus* Gellius, 10. 20. 4, Nonius, p. 35; *fur* Gellius, 1. 18. 4, Nonius, p. 50; *venti* Gellius, 2. 22, Nonius, p. 50; *laevus* Gellius, 5. 12. 13, Nonius, p. 51; *vestibulum* Gellius, 16. 5, Nonius, p. 53; *recepticius servus* Gellius, 17. 6, Nonius, p. 54; *arcera* Gellius, 20. 1. 29, Nonius, p. 55; *proletarii* Gellius, 16. 10, Nonius, p. 67; *copiari* Gellius, 17. 2. 9, Nonius, p. 87; *compluriens* Gellius, 5. 21. 17, Nonius, p. 87; *cis* Gellius, 12. 13. 7, Nonius, p. 92; *duodevicesimo* Gellius, 5. 4. 4, Nonius, p. 100; *fruniscor* Gellius, 17. 2. 5, Nonius, p. 113; *priores* Gellius, 10. 20. 4, Nonius, p. 159; *profligo* Gellius, 15. 5, Nonius, p. 160; *acritas* Nonius, p. 493, Gellius, 13. 3. 2; and I could quote others. This fact alone constitutes a very strong argument in favour of the independence of the two writers, for what likelihood is there that a book-maker of the stamp of Nonius would add anything from his own resources?

(2) But there is a negative argument of almost equal weight. While, on the one hand, Nonius often adds instances to those in Gellius, or gives different ones, he often, on the other hand, shows a neglect or ignorance of Gellius, which is quite extra-

ordinary, supposing him to have paid any serious attention to the *Noctes Atticae*. In many cases, where the two writers are treating of the same words, Nonius totally disregards what Gellius has said, though nothing would have been more natural than that he should have abridged it, had the work of Gellius been before him. Sometimes again he omits words which must certainly have suggested themselves to him, had he been consulting Gellius to any considerable extent¹.

(3) As Hertz himself observes, Nonius only appears to have used Gellius to any great extent in his first two books. Now supposing him really to have borrowed directly from Gellius, this fact is very remarkable; for there is no reason, in the nature of the case, why he should not have borrowed from him in his later books as well as in the first two. There are, it is true, nineteen, if not twenty, books of Nonius, each with a different title; but the contents of many of them are so similar that the whole work might as well have been divided into half the number. The phenomenon noticed by Hertz is, however, completely explained when we remember two facts: first, that it is in the first two books of Nonius that we find most of the coincidences between him and Verrius Flaccus; secondly, that a number of glosses common to Nonius and Gellius are also common to both writers and to Verrius Flaccus. We should be justified, from the combined similarity and dissimilarity between the Nonian and Gellian glosses, in inferring that the two writers drew upon common sources. But we can go further, and point out in a great number of cases what the common source was.

(4) There is another argument adduced in favour of the dependence of Nonius upon Gellius which I must notice before leaving this part of the subject. It is urged that the order

¹ On p. 493, Nonius has the following note: *Intemperia pro intemperantia, apud veterem auctoritatis obscurae: has eius intemperias in maritum*. Gellius, I. 17. 2 says *has eius intemperias in maritum Alcibiades demiratus*. Can it be believed that Nonius would call Gellius *vetus auctoritatis obscurae*? Is it not far more likely that both authors are quoting from the same book?

of the notes which Nonius borrowed from Gellius follows, in Nonius, the order of the books of Gellius. This is undoubtedly true in the main, but not without exceptions. Sometimes we have a reverse order; in the second book, for instance, under the letter *P*, Nonius goes back from the sixteenth to the fifteenth book of Gellius, under the letter *S* from the ninth to the fourth, from the fourth to the third, and from the eighteenth to the ninth. And even though Nonius does on the whole follow the order of the books of Gellius, he leaves such large gaps in doing so that not much can fairly be made of the fact; in his first book, for example, he goes from Gellius 2 to 4, 5 to 11, 10 to 12, 13 to 16, 17 to 20; in his second from 11 to 16, 6 to 12 and 17, 5 to 17, 17 to 19, 10 to 15, 15 to 18; 2 to 9, 9 to 17; 6 to 9, 9 to 17, 17 to 19; 9 to 18; 6 to 9, 9 to 16; 3 to 9, 9 to 18; 10 to 12, 12 to 16. It may be added, that six books of Gellius, the first, seventh, eighth, eleventh, thirteenth, and twentieth, are not quoted at all in the first two books of Nonius.

I have now, I hope, succeeded in making it probable that there is no relation of dependence between Nonius and Gellius, and that a community of source or sources is at the bottom of their coincidences. But before leaving Nonius a word or two must be said on the relation between his work and parts of the grammatical treatise of Julius Romanus preserved by Charisius. It should be observed that the list of adverbs quoted from Romanus by Charisius, p. 195 foll. stands in the same relation to Nonius as that in which we have seen that Gellius does. The note on *ampliter* occurs in Nonius, p. 511, in a much fuller form. With that on *confidenter* compare Nonius, p. 262 s. v. *confidentia*; on *duriter* Nonius, p. 512, is much fuller than Julius Romanus, whose instances he gives with others: on *efflictim* Nonius, p. 104, is again fuller, and gives different instances; *firmiter* is mentioned without examples by Julius Romanus, but by Nonius, p. 512, illustrated from Lucilius, Afranius, and Cicero. With the notes on *inimiciter* compare Nonius, p. 514, where the word is illustrated from Accius;

with that on *impedio* Nonius, p. 128; on *longe* Nonius, p. 339; on *luci* Nonius, p. 210; on *longum* Nonius, p. 338; on *longiter* Nonius, p. 515, where the same passage from Lucretius is cited; on *mordicus* Nonius, p. 139; on *modice* Nonius, p. 342; on *protinus* Nonius, p. 376, where the note is given in a much fuller form, and is illustrated by the same passage from Vergil; on *perplexim* Nonius, p. 515, where the same line of Plautus is quoted; on *publicitus* Nonius, p. 513; on *pedetemptim* Nonius, p. 29; on *posterius* Nonius, p. 375; on *primo pedatu* Nonius, p. 64; on *rarenter* Nonius, pp. 164, 515; on *statim* Nonius, p. 393; on *tuatim* Nonius, p. 179; on *tractim* Nonius, p. 178; on *testatim* Nonius, p. 178; on *vespera* Nonius, p. 231; on *viritim* Nonius, p. 43.

I cannot but think that these coincidences are due to the fact that Nonius and Julius Romanus were drawing upon the same source or sources. And there is an obvious general similarity between the two writers. Each quotes both in alphabetical order and also by series of authors; each has repetitions of the same word merely because it is illustrated from different writers; each makes his extracts in a shambling and helpless manner. Finally, there are indications that, like Nonius, Julius Romanus is in several instances indebted, directly or indirectly, to Verrius Flaccus. This is the case with his notes on *edius fidius*, *exam-ussim*, *fabre*, *in mundo*, *ilico*, *ibidem*, *nauci*, *noctu*, *nudius tertius*, *neutiquam*, *oppido*, *subinde*, *secus*, *sarte*, *viritim*; and some of these are common also to Nonius and Festus. I have therefore little doubt that there was much of Verrius's work embedded in the writings from which Romanus and Nonius made their extracts.

Let us now proceed to consider for a moment the collection of glosses which bears the name of Luctatius Placidus, a writer whose *floruit* is generally assigned to the fifth century A. D. The character of this compilation bears a marked resemblance to that of Nonius; Placidus is Nonius in miniature. His work is an extremely meagre compendium of grammar, lexicography, and antiquities, intended to cover much the same ground as the

De Compendiosa Doctrina. The glosses of Placidus are usually spoken of as intended only for Plautus, and their title confirms this idea. The fact, however, is far otherwise, it being clear that, though there are many notes in Placidus which refer exclusively to Plautine words, there are many which are meant for other authors.

It has been supposed that Placidus, like Nonius, took his notes from commentaries. This theory is, I venture to think, as erroneous in the one case as in the other. If the glosses of Placidus be compared with corresponding notes in Festus, Gellius, Nonius, Servius, Macrobius, and Isidore, a large mass of material is brought to light common to all these writers, which it is nearly impossible to suppose they can have derived from commentaries, and not rather from handbooks of lexicography and grammar. Confining ourselves on the present occasion to a comparison between Placidus and Festus or Paulus, we find that a large proportion of the glosses in Placidus must have come, directly or indirectly, from Verrius Flaccus. Some of these have escaped the eye of Deuerling, the most recent editor of Placidus. If I am not wrong in my reckoning, more than a third of the glosses in Placidus correspond closely with notes in Paulus or Festus. The general resemblance between the glosses of Placidus and those in Paulus is, indeed, so great, that Müller imagined that Placidus borrowed from a version of Festus fuller than the abridgment by Paulus. In rejecting this hypothesis, as they are probably right in doing, Deuerling and Loewe seem to me to go too far when they refuse to admit an organic connection of some kind between Placidus and Verrius Flaccus. There may be no relation of dependence traceable between Placidus and Festus, but this does not prove that a great number of the lexicographical notes in Placidus may not have been derived from a handbook or handbooks compiled from the *De Verborum Significatu*. Of the glosses in Placidus which cannot be paralleled in Paulus or Festus, there are many to be found in Nonius, Macrobius, Servius, and Isidore, but in such a form as to preclude the idea of any

one of these writers having copied from any other, Macrobius or Servius from Nonius, or Isidore from either; a fact which surely shows that the sources from which all these writers drew were ultimately the same as the authorities followed by Nonius, in all probability that is, the scholars of the first and the first half of the second centuries A. D.

The value of the glosses of Placidus is not in any way diminished because their origin may in many cases be conjectured. On the contrary, it is clear that being quite independent of Festus, they often preserve remains of notes, and sometimes even of passages from ancient authors, which have disappeared from the existing epitomes of Verrius.

I now come to the question which originally led me to undertake this tedious investigation. It may, I think, be shown, by a minute comparison of parallel passages, that several of the notes on Vergil in Macrobius are ultimately derived from Verrius Flaccus. If I am right, an interesting fact will have been clearly elicited which has hitherto been only imperfectly recognised, that Verrius, by embodying Vergilian instances in his articles, was one of the earliest scholars who contributed anything to the interpretation of Vergil.

Readers of Macrobius do not need to be reminded that he shows, or at least professes, an acquaintance both with Verrius Flaccus and his epitomator Festus, and that there is therefore no antecedent improbability that he may have been indebted to Verrius even where he does not name him. To come, however, to details. Let us examine some of the passages in the third book of Macrobius, where he is dealing with Vergil's use of words relating to religious ceremonies. The first that I will take is *porriciam* (3. 2). In illustration of this word Macrobius quotes the antiquarian Fabius Pictor. Verrius Flaccus commented on this word and illustrated it from Plautus (Festus, pp. 318 and 319). In support of his remarks on the word *religiosus* Macrobius distinctly appeals to Festus. Passing on to his note on *delubrum* we are met by a curious circumstance. Macrobius (3. 4. 3) has one note, Paulus, p. 73, has another,

on this word. But the substance of both notes is combined by Servius on Aen. 2. 225. Paulus says *delubrum dicebant fustem delibratum, hoc est decorticatum, quem venerabantur pro deo*. Servius not only gives this explanation, but also those quoted in Macrobius from Varro's *Rerum Divinarum*; and much the same comment recurs, with an addition, in Servius on Aen. 4. 56. The impression left is that both Macrobius and Servius were copying from an article in Verrius Flaccus, of which only a short extract has survived in the epitome of Paulus.

In the fourth chapter of Macrobius's sixth book are discussed some instances in which Vergil revived an antique use of Latin words. The first note which I propose to consider is that on *daedala Circe*, § 20. Macrobius says that Vergil, in using the expression *daedala Circe*, was copying the expression of Lucretius, *daedala tellus*. Compare now a note in Paulus, p. 68, *daedalam a varietate rerum artificiorumque dictam esse apud Lucretium terram, apud Ennium Minervam, apud Vergilium Circen, facile est intellegere*. Here it is clear that the original note of Verrius Flaccus included the instances of the word given by Macrobius, as well as another or others taken from Ennius.

The word *reboare* is noticed by Macrobius (§ 21) as a Greek word, and Vergil is again justified by the example of Lucretius. Let us endeavour to trace backwards the history of this note, taking first what Servius says on *Georgic* 3. 323, '*reboant silvaeque et longus Olympus*.' *Est autem Graecum verbum. Nam apud Latinos nullum verbum est quod ante o finalem o habeat excepto inchoo; quod tamen maiores aliter scribebant, aspiratum interponentes duabus vocalibus, et dicebant inchoo*. Both these notes can be traced back to Verrius Flaccus. On *boare* Paulus, p. 30, says *boare, id est clamare, a Graeco descendit*; under *inchoo* only a fragment of the original note is left. Verrius (Paulus, p. 107) is now made to say that *inchoare* is a Greek word derived from *chaos*, the beginning of things; but we know from another source this was not Verrius's real opinion. For Diomedes, p. 365 (Keil), assures us that Verrius derived the word from the Latin word *cohūm* = *mundus*, and

that it was Julius Modestus (the contemporary of Verrius) who defended the Graecizing etymology. In this case the original note of Verrius, or at least the gist of it, seems to be preserved by Servius.

In § 23 Macrobius has another gloss, the fortunes of which we are happily able to follow. He remarks that the word *camurus*, which Vergil uses in the third Georgic (*camuris hirtae sub cornibus aures*) is a foreign word, and goes on to say that perhaps the word *camera* is derived from it. The substance of this note is to be found in Servius's comment on the passage in Nonius, p. 30, who quotes the same line of Vergil, and finally in Paulus, p. 43, *camera et camuri boves, a curvatione, ex Graeco κάμνη descendit.*

One more instance, and I have done. Macrobius comments on Vergil's phrase *auritos lepores*, which he illustrates by a quotation from Afranius, *aurito parente = asino*. Paulus, p. 8, says that *auritus* is derived *a magnis auribus, ut sunt asinorum aut leporum*. One is tempted to infer that Verrius had a note in which he quoted both the passage from Afranius about a donkey, and that from Vergil about hares.

There are other facts to be noticed with regard to these notes in Macrobius. There are traces in them of alphabetical series: thus, *additus agmen crepito horret tremulus umbraculum; defluo discludo deductus proiectus tempestivus: aethra daedalus reboant; camurus Mulciber petulcus: auritus turicremus velivolus vitisator; arcitenens silvicola; noctivagus nubigenus.*

Again, there are traces in them of arrangement according to authors. The series *agmen crepito horret tremulum* is illustrated from Ennius; *lychnus* and *aethra* from the same author; *daedalus* and *reboant*, *petulcus* and *liquidus* from Lucretius; *arcitenens* and *silvicola* from Naevius.

Again it should be observed that the authors quoted by Macrobius in illustration or defence of Vergil are all favourites with Verrius Flaccus. So that, all things considered, it appears to me not improbable that Macrobius is here copying, if not from Verrius Flaccus himself, at least from some writer of good

authority whose writing embodied matter taken from Verrius Flaccus.

The investigation, the main lines of which I have endeavoured to indicate in these two essays, will not be complete until it is extended to Servius, Aelius Donatus, Charisius, Diomedes, Priscian, and Isidore. I have been anxious, however, to point out the method on which, in my opinion, such an inquiry ought to be based, and (to make my meaning perfectly clear) have subjoined a specimen of an attempted reconstruction of parts of the first two letters of the *De Verborum Significatu* from notes in writers later than Verrius. To sum up briefly what I have attempted to convey, I would say that it appears to me to be a mistake to try the plan of examining such writers as Gellius, Nonius, Macrobius, and Placidus by themselves, or in pairs. At least, as far as I have yet been able to observe, this proceeding only brings us to an explanation of part of the facts which have to be explained, and leaves the rest in the chaos in which they first presented themselves. The excellent work of Schmidt, *De Nonii auctoribus grammaticis*, is, in my opinion, spoilt by his adoption of the theory that the *De Compendiosa Doctrina* is based mainly upon Gellius and upon isolated commentaries. To suppose that a writer of the evident ignorance and general incapacity which characterize Nonius should have gone upon the plan of making independent selections from ancient commentaries seems to me to be exceedingly unnatural. The titles of his chapters suggest rather that each was taken from a separate work of reference, or a separate section in such work. The mere trouble involved in selecting from commentaries and arranging the selections under such heads as those under which Nonius has arranged his work would be very great, and must surely, if it had been really taken, have led to results very different from those which we have in Nonius.

The hypothesis which I would propose, as most likely to explain the perplexing phenomena before us, is this: that during the first and fifth centuries A. D. a number of ex-

tracts and *compendia*, of which the book of Festus is one, were made from works of reference compiled in the Augustan age and the first century A. D., such as those of Verrius Flaccus, Hyginus, Fenestella, and Julius Modestus; that the same process was applied to the great grammarians, as Remmius Palaemon, Pliny, and Probus, and to the *Lectiones antiquae* of Caesellius Vindex; that much lexicographical matter was taken from Verrius Flaccus, but was quoted as if the excerptor were consulting the authorities used by Verrius Flaccus; that handbooks of general information on points of grammar and lexicography were composed from these sources, specimens of which have survived in the work of Nonius written in the fourth century, and that of Placidus written in the fifth. A higher species of the same genus is represented by the *Noctes Atticae* of Aulus Gellius (second century) and the *Saturnalia* of Macrobius (fourth century), which make the pretence of combining profound learning with elegance and literary form.

And I would venture to suggest that the first step to be taken in the process of unearthing the ancient roots of this degenerate growth is to examine the notes which can be shown to be common to Verrius Flaccus, Suetonius, Gellius, Julius Romanus, Nonius, Servius, Donatus, Macrobius, Placidus, and Isidore; and when this is done and the notes of Verrius are eliminated, then to compare the other authors and discover, if possible, under what groups their notes can be arranged, and finally to attempt to find, if possible, the common sources of these groups. At least I know of no other method which seems likely to lead to any fruitful issue.

I subjoin a specimen of the application of this method to Paulus.

Paulus, p. 2, *armillum, vas vinarium in sacris dictum, quod armo, id est umero, deportatur.*

Nonius, p. 74, *armillum.* Lucilius, lib. 28, '*hinc ad me, hinc ilicet anus Rursum ad armillum.*' p. 547, *armillum urceoli genus vinarii.* Varro De Vita P. R. lib. 1, '*etiannunc pocula quae*

vocant capulas et capides, quod est poculi genus; item armillum, quod est urceoli genus vinarii.

Placidus, p. 7, Deuerl. *armillum, vas vinarium. Unde 'anus ad armillum.'*

I would suggest that the gloss of Verrius Flaccus may be partially reconstructed from those in Nonius, the gloss of Placidus showing that the definition given by Paulus and the instance of *anus ad armillum* originally formed part of the same note.

Paulus, p. 2, *apricum locum, a sole apertum, a Graeco vocabulo φρικη appellamus, quasi ἀφρικῆς, id est sine horrore, videlicet frigoris, unde etiam putatur et Africa appellari.* So Servius Aen. 5. 128, Isidore 14. 9. 34.

Paulus, p. 2, *amoena dicta sunt loca quae ad se amanda adliciant, id est trahant.* Isidore 14. 9. 33, *amoena loca dicta Varro ait eo quod solum amorem praestent, et ad [se] amanda adliciant. Verrius Flaccus quod sine munere sint, nec quicquam in his (iis?) officii, quasi amunia: id est, sine fructu: inde etiam nihil praestantes immunes dicuntur.* Serv. Aen. 5. 734, *amoena sunt loca solius voluptatis plena, quasi amunia, unde nullus fructus exsolvitur; unde etiam nihil praestantes immunes dicuntur.* 6. 638, *quasi amunia, hoc est sine fructu, ut Varro et Carminius docent.*

Here we have distinct evidence that the original note of Verrius included (and indeed defended) an etymology of which Paulus has made no mention.

Paulus, p. 4, *armentum id genus pecoris appellatur quod est idoneum ad opus armorum. Invenies tamen feminine armentas apud Ennium positum.* Nonius, p. 190, *armenta genere neutro plerique. Feminino Ennius, 'ad armentas ipsius easdem.' Pacuvius, 'Tu cornifrontes pascere armentas soles.'*

Paulus, p. 9, *antruare . . . truant, moventur. Truam quoque vocant quo permovent coquentes exta.* Nonius, p. 18, *truam veteres a terendo, quam nos deminutive trullam dicimus, appellari voluerunt. Pomponius Pannuceatis; 'mulier ubi aspexit tam magnifice tutulata truam;' Titinius Setina, . . . 'cocus magnum ahenum, quando fervit, paula confutat trua.'* Here I should

suppose that the words of Paulus's explanation were suggested by the passage in Titinius, which Festus had preserved.

Paulus, p. 19, *Aventinus mons intra urbem dictus est, quod ibi rex Albanorum Aventinus bello fuerit extinctus atque sepultus.* Servius Aen. 7. 657, *Aventinus mons urbis Romae est, quem constat ab avibus esse nominatum, quae de Tiberi ascendentes illic sedebant, ut in octavo legimus 'Dirarum nidis domus opportuna volucrum.'* *Quidam etiam rex Aboriginum Aventinus nomine illic occisus et sepultus est, sicut etiam Albanorum rex Aventinus, cui successit Procas. Varro tamen dicit in Gente Populi Romani Sabinos a Romulo susceptos istum accepisse montem quem ab Avente fluvio provinciae suae appellaverunt Aventinum.* There is a note on this word in Varro L. L. 5. 43, of which the comment in Servius is quite independent. I infer from this fact, and from the similarity of language between Servius and Paulus, that Servius has preserved a note of Verrius Flaccus.

I quote these instances as specimens of a line of investigation which I hope may be worked out by scholars who have more leisure for the task than I have. About a third of the whole number of glosses given under the first and second letters in Paulus may, I think, be thus supplemented, or at least paralleled, from later writers; a fact sufficient to prove to what a large extent the work of Verrius, in its original form or in excerpts and abridgments, was consulted in antiquity.

NOTE ON THE GLOSSES OF PLACIDUS.

THE title of this work is *Glossae Luctatii Placidi in Plauti Comoedias*. The latest editor, Deuerling, thinks that Placidus is undoubtedly a late writer, living perhaps in the fifth century A.D. There is no doubt, from several of his notes, that he was a Christian, who regarded the Pagan religion and mythology entirely *ab extra*, and that his book as a whole has the characteristics of a late fifth century compilation.

The title is misleading. The glosses are not by any means confined to Plautus, some being demonstrably on Livius Andronicus, some on Lucilius, some on Sallust (e.g. *alii* on p. 2), some on Vergil (e.g. *adorea* on p. 7). But the book is not merely a glossary, but a badly compiled handbook of general instruction, containing, besides the glosses, notes on antiquities, mythology, rhetoric, grammar, and matters of general information. The grammar is of a late date, as may be inferred from the following remarks : p. 2, '*alii*' *scribimus singulariter dativo casu, ut de Catilina Sallustius dicit*, etc. ; p. 1, '*aeditimus*' *aedis custos . . . editissima vero loca montosa* ; p. 46, '*factus illa res*' *dicitur et 'factus illam rem ;'* p. 62, *liberavit de praeterito per u, liberabit de futuro per b scribitur* ; p. 6, '*ante fugit*' *dicimus, non 'ab ante ;'* p. 48, *gestio sic declinatur quomodo audio ; est enim gestio neutrale verbum*.

The notes on antiquities, mythology, etc., are, on the whole, of an elementary character. They often coincide with notes in Servius and Isidore, but Isidore does not borrow from Placidus. For instance, where Placidus (p. 13) merely says '*bova*' *vehemens rubor : interdum genus serpentis*, Isid. 12. 14. 28 has a very much fuller note : '*boas*' *anguis Italiae immensa mole : persequitur greges armentorum et bubulcos, et plurimo lacte riguis se uberibus innectit et sugens interimit, atque inde a boum depopulatione boas nomen accepit*. Ib. 22, *hydros . . . cuius quidam morbum boam dicunt, eo quod fimo bovis remediatur*. And I might quote other examples of the same phenomenon. Probably, therefore, Placidus and Isidore used the same handbooks ; and it is almost certain that these handbooks were not older than the second century A. D.

There are numerous coincidences, again, between Placidus and Servius and Aelius Donatus, which it is natural to account for in the same way.

The question remains, What is the relation between the glosses, the lexicographical part, of Placidus, and the great work of Verrius Flaccus ?

A large number of the glosses in Placidus are upon the same words as those in Festus or Paulus. Under the letter *N*, where we have Festus as well as Paulus to consult, I find that, after deducting three grammatical notes on *neglegens*, *nudus*, and *nudius tertius*, there remain in Placidus twenty-seven notes of a glossarial character. Of these fifteen correspond strikingly with notes in

Festus ; though on the word *nepa* Placidus adds some nonsensical remarks of which Festus could not have been guilty. The fifteen are these :

Nautea, see Festus, p. 165 ; *numero*, p. 170 ; *noegeum*, p. 174 ; *narrria*, p. 166 ; *nefrendem*, p. 162 ; *numellatas*, p. 172 ; *nassiterna*, p. 169 ; *naeniam*, p. 161 ; *nepos*, pp. 164-5 ; *nec ciccum*, Paulus, p. 42 ; *nuptiae*, Festus, p. 170 ; *nothus*, p. 174 ; *nepa*, p. 164 ; *naviter*, pp. 166, 175 ; *nandi*, p. 166.

Under the letter *O*, deducting the grammatical notes on *odorifer*, *obter*, *obtundens*, *occidio*, *opera*, we have thirty-eight glosses. Of these sixteen correspond with glosses in Festus or Paulus, namely :

Obstrudere, *obstrudenta*, see Festus, p. 193. *Opipare*, see Paulus, p. 188 ; *osor*, p. 196 ; *oenum*, p. 195. *Oburvas*, see Festus, p. 375 ; *oppido*, p. 184 ; *opiter*, p. 184 ; *oriae*, p. 183 ; *ommentat*, p. 190 ; *oculato*, p. 178 ; *obnuberat*, p. 184 ; *obstinatus*, p. 193 ; *obstipeculus*, p. 193. *Offuciarum*, see Paulus, p. 192 ; *obdet*, p. 191.

Under the letter *A* we can only compare Placidus with Paulus. Deducting the grammatical notes on *aethra*, *alii*, *auctrix*, *ante*, *amplexus*, *anethum*, and the dittographies *abuti*, *actutum*, *adorea*, *altrinsecus*, *auspicium*, *autumant*, *alteruter*, *apluda*, *ad incitas*, 143 glosses remain. Of these the following correspond with glosses in Paulus, namely, *adscivit*, *aeditimus*, *avus*, *arvina*, *acti*, *auspicium*, *ausim*, *adolevit*, *adorea*, *alliciendos*, *averruncassint*, *anquirens*, *aerarium*, *abrogant*, *ales*, *agedum*, *ad manticulandum*, *angrae*, *antica*, *antiquare*, *armillum*, *antigerio*, *adulterina*, *apludam*, *axitionum*, *antiis*, *actum*, *aginam*, *aginator*, *ad exodium*, *assiduos*, *ambulacris*, *arse verse*, *adnictare*, *anate*, *artitus*, *arcent*, *apua*, *aeruscans*, *adorans*, *acerata offula*, *acu pedum*, *ausculatus*, *ambacti* ; forty-four in all.

It is, however, to be observed (1) that the interpretations given by Paulus and Placidus do not always correspond ; (2) that Placidus often quotes his nouns in oblique cases, and his verbs in participles or other special forms, thus giving the impression that he is citing from passages of authors, not from a lexicon. Paulus, on the other hand, often quotes his words in their general form. Thus Placidus quotes *aeruscans* where Paulus has *aeruscare*, *antiis* where Paulus has *antiae*, and so on (see Loewe, *Glossae Nominum*, etc., p. 96 foll.).

In consequence of these differences between Placidus and the

epitomators of Vèrrius, Deuerling and Loewe think (after Ritschl) that Placidus may have consulted the same authorities as Verrius Flaccus. Loewe says, 'Die von Ritschl aufgestellte Ansicht, dass Placidus und Festus oder Verrius Flaccus unabhängig von einander aus verwandten Quellen geschöpft haben, ist jetzt wohl allgemein anerkannt;' and again, 'Wir haben hier' (in Placidus) 'Originalscholien der alten Glossographen zu archaischen Autoren vor uns.'

With this view I find it impossible to agree. It is highly improbable that any scholar of the fifth century A.D would consult the authorities of Verrius Flaccus for purely lexicographical purposes. Again, the whole character of Placidus's book militates against the hypothesis. Is it likely that a writer so ignorant of classical Latin as he shows himself to be should have been in the habit of consulting Varro or Nigidius or the glossographers of the last century B.C.? Had he done so, surely his notes would have borne a very different stamp.

I do not argue that Placidus consulted Festus. But I hope I have made it clear that Festus is not a convertible term with Verrius Flaccus. I suppose, taking everything into consideration, that the lexicographical notes in Placidus were copied from handbooks compiled for school purposes, and that these handbooks contained a large number of notes which came ultimately, perhaps through several hands, from Verrius, independently of Festus. This hypothesis would explain both the agreement of Placidus with Festus, and his disagreement; and it also seems to me to be more probable on general grounds, when the whole course of the history of Latin literature is considered, than that advanced by Ritschl.

IX.

THE NOCTES ATTICAE OF AULUS
GELLIUS.

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It is perhaps not generally realized that a large proportion of the surviving Greek and Latin literature consists of extracts and epitomes. This is the case with almost all the remains of ancient philology, criticism, and lexicography, and with a great part of the remains of ancient history and science; and thus it has come to pass that in Roman literature, for Næpos and Hyginus we have Valerius Maximus; for Verrius Flaccus, Festus and Paulus; for Probus and Pliny, Nonius, Charisius, Servius, and Priscian; for Suetonius, Jerome and Isidore.

The passion for making epitomes, selections, *florilegia*, and miscellanies of all kinds, arose among the Romans in the first century after Christ, and continued in activity for a long subsequent period. The *Noctes Atticæ* of Aulus Gellius is only one specimen of the results which it produced. Gellius himself tells us (Praef. 6 foll.) of the numerous works of this kind, with their equally numerous titles, that existed in his own day. *Nam quia variam et miscellam et quasi confusaneam doctrinam conquisierant, eo titulos quoque ad eam sententiam exquisitissimos indiderunt. Namque alii 'Musarum' inscripserunt, alii 'Silvarum,' ille πέπλον, hic 'Αμαλθείας κέρας, alius κηρία, partim λειμῶνας, quidam 'Lectionis suae,' alius 'Antiquarum Lectionum,' atque alius ἀνθηρῶν, et item alius εὐρημάτων. Sunt etiam qui λύχνους inscripserunt, sunt item qui στρωματείς, sunt adeo qui πανδέκτας et 'Ελικῶνα et προβλήματα et ἐγχειρίδια et παραξιφίδας. Est*

qui 'Memoriales' titulum fecerit, est qui πραγματικά et πάρεργα et διδασκαλικά, est item qui 'Historiae Naturalis,' est praeterea qui 'Pratum,' et itidem qui πάγκαρπον, est qui τόπων scripsit. Sunt item multi qui 'Coniectanea,' neque item non sunt qui indices libris suis fecerint aut 'Epistularum Moralium' aut 'Epistularum quaestionum' aut 'Confusarum,' et quaedam alia inscripta nimis lepida multasque prorsus concinnitates redolentia. The authors of some of these works are known. The Ἀμαλθείας κέρας or *Cornu Copiae* was by Sotion, the *Antiquae Lectiones* by Caesellius Vindex, the *Historia Naturalis* by Pliny, the *Pratum* by Suetonius, the Πανδέκται by Tullius Tiro. The reference to a *Silvae* may possibly be explained as an allusion to the *Silva Observationum Sermonis antiqui* by Valerius Probus: possibly Ἀθηναί may be the *Florida* of Apuleius. *Epistulae Quaestiones* was the title of a work by Varro, thrice quoted by Gellius (*Noctes Atticae*, 14. 8. 2); *Quaestiones Confusae* was the name given to his miscellaneous collections by Julius Modestus; a book of *Coniectanea* was written by Ateius Capito.

The gentile name of Aulus Gellius shows that he belonged to a very old Italian family. All that is known of his life and career may be briefly put together from his *Noctes Atticae*. He nowhere mentions his birthplace, but he was at Rome when he assumed the *toga virilis* in his sixteenth or seventeenth year (18. 4. 1). The date of his birth is only a matter of approximate inference. His residence as a student at Athens fell after the consulship of Herodes Atticus (143 A. D.), for Atticus is spoken of as *consularis vir* at the time (*Noctes Atticae*, 19. 12; 1. 2. 1). Gellius calls himself *iuuenis* while at Athens (15. 2. 3, and elsewhere): a term which it is surely unnecessary, with Teuffel, to press so far as to make it imply that Gellius was a man of thirty or so in these student years. Supposing him to have resided at Athens from the age of nineteen to that of twenty-three, he must have been born A. D. 123 or thereabouts.

The ordinary educational course in his day began with grammar, and passed through rhetoric to philosophy (10. 19. 1, *adulescentem a rhetoribus et a facundiae studio ad disciplinas philo-*

sophiae transgressum). In grammar he attended, among other lectures, those of the learned Carthaginian scholar Sulpicius Apollinaris, also the master of the emperor Pertinax¹. In rhetoric one of his favourite teachers was Antonius Julianus, described (19. 9. 2) as *docendis publice iuvenibus magister*, in whose company he seems to have spent many pleasant hours (9. 15). Another was Titus Castricius, a man *gravi atque firmo iudicio* (11. 13. 1), the chief professor of rhetoric in Rome². Gellius also heard Fronto in Rome during his early youth³.

In philosophy his tutors were mainly Favorinus and Calvisius Taurus—Calvisius Taurus he heard at Athens, whither he went from Rome after finishing his course of rhetoric⁴, and appears, though to what extent is uncertain, to have studied Aristotle and Plato with him⁵.

Gellius also saw a great deal at Athens of the enigmatical philosopher Peregrinus, surnamed or nicknamed Proteus, of whom he gives a very different account from that of Lucian⁶. Had the eighth book of the *Noctes Atticae* survived, we might have heard more of this interesting personage, who figured in the dialogue of the third chapter. During the same time he saw and heard the celebrated rhetorician Tiberius Claudius Atticus Herodes⁷.

There are several pleasant allusions, scattered up and down

¹ 7. 6. 12, *quem in primis sectabar*; comp. 20. 6. 1, *cum eum Romae adolescentulus sectarer*.

² 13. 22. 1, *rhetoricae disciplinae doctor, qui habuit Romae locum principem declamandi ac docendi, summa vir auctoritate gravitateque et a divo Hadriano in mores atque litteras spectatus*.

³ 19. 8. 1, *adolescentulus Romae, priusquam Athenas concederem*.

⁴ 17. 8. 1, *Philosophus Taurus accipiebat nos Athenis*. 7. 13. 1, *factitatum observatumque hoc Athenis est ab his qui erant philosopho Tauro iunctiones*. 19. 6. 2, *hoc ego Athenis cum Tauro nostro legissem*.

⁵ 7. 10. 1, *Taurus, vir memoria nostra in disciplina Platonica celebratus*. 17. 20. 1, *Symposium Platonis apud philosophum Taurum legebatur*. 19. 6. 2, *problemata Aristotelis*.

⁶ 12. 11. 1, *Philosophum nomine Peregrinum, cui postea cognomentum Proteus factum est, virum gravem atque constantem, vidimus, cum apud Athenas essemus, deversantem in quodam tugurio extra urbem. Cumque ad eum frequenter ventitaremus, multa hercle dicere eum utiliter et honeste audivimus*.

⁷ 19. 12; comp. 1. 2. 1.

the *Noctes Atticae*, to Gellius's student life at Athens; to his boating-trips to Aegina and back (2. 21. 1); his excursion to Delphi (12. 5. 1); the monthly gatherings of students (15. 2. 3, *in conviviiis iuvenum, quae agitare Athenis hebdomadibus lunae sollemne nobis fuit*).

It was after his return from Athens to Rome that Gellius became intimate with Favorinus¹, and thus fell under a philosophical influence which extended at least beyond the time at which he entered upon professional life². If we may trust the impression left by the *Noctes Atticae*, Favorinus was not merely a technical metaphysician, but also an acute and learned scholar. As is well known, he was the author of works entitled ἀπομνημονεύματα and παντοδαπή ιστορία, the latter of which most probably suggested the form, if indeed it did not supply much of the contents, of the *Noctes Atticae*.

Once returned to Rome, Gellius seems to have entered upon active life, of what kind he does not tell us explicitly; but he was, *homo adolescens* as he says (14. 2. 1), chosen as a judge for the decision of private causes. He can hardly have been older than twenty-five at this time³. In one other passage (12. 13. 1) he alludes to his undertaking judicial functions; but in other places his accounts of his life are somewhat vague, though they refer generally to a legal career⁴. There is no mention of ele-

¹ 14. 1. 1, *Audivimus quondam Favorinum philosophum Romae Graece disserentem egregia atque inlustri oratione*. 1. 21. 4, *cum Favorino Hygini commentarium egissem*. 10. 12. 9, *Favorinus philosophus, memoriarum veterum exequentissimus*. 16. 3. 1, *cum Favorino dies plerumque totos eramus, tenebatque animos nostros homo ille fandi dulcissimus, atque eum, quoquo iret, quasi lingua eius prorsus capti prosequeremur*.

² 14. 2. 1. 11, *quo primum tempore a praetoribus lectus in iudices essem . . . a subsellis pergo ad Favorinum philosophum, quem in eo tempore Romae plurimum sectabar*. Comp. 2. 22. 1; 17. 10. 1; 18. 1. 1.

³ Digest 42. 1. 571, *Quidam consulebat, an valeret sententia a minore viginti quinque annis iudice data*. 50. 4. 8, *ad rem publicam administrandam ante vicensimum quintum annum, vel ad munera quae non patrimonii sunt vel honores, admitti minores non oportet*.

⁴ 12. 13. 1, *cum Romae a consulibus iudex extra ordinem datus . . . pronuntiare iussus sum*. 13. 13. 1, *cum ex angulis secretisque librorum ac magistrorum in medium iam hominum et in lucem fori prodidissem*. 11. 3. 1, *quando ab arbitris negotiisque otium est*. 16. 10. 1, *otium erat quodam die Romae in foro a negotiis*. Praef. 12, *per omnia semper negotiorum intervalla*.

vation to any high office ; perhaps the mediocrity which stamps his literary work may have been also obvious in the discharge of his judicial functions.

I now come to the most important and difficult part of my task, which is to give some account, and attempt some analysis, of the *Noctes Atticae*. It appears from the author's preface that before he published this work in its final shape he had laid the foundation for it in a number of excerpts. Praef. 2, *usi autem sumus ordine rerum fortuito, quem antea in excerpando feceramus. Nam proinde ut librum quemque in manus ceperam seu Graecum seu Latinum, vel quid memoratu dignum audieram, ita, quae libitum erat, cuiuscunque generis erant, indistincte atque promisce adnotabam, eaque mihi ad subsidium memoriae quasi quoddam litterarum penus recondebam, etc.*

The title *Noctes Atticae* was given to the book simply as a record of the fact that Gellius began to make his collections during the long winter evenings of his student years at Athens. It is professedly a handbook of miscellaneous information, but aims, as its author expressly says, at being comparatively popular, and regards quality more than quantity in the facts presented. For the presence of some few specimens of recondite learning the author thinks it necessary to apologize¹.

Gellius does not tell us, what is sufficiently obvious to a reader of his book, that he has taken great pains to enliven his lessons by the form in which his scraps of information are presented. Often indeed an extract is simply copied from an older author, and given in its naked simplicity without introduction or citation of authority ; but quite as often an attempt is made to set it in the frame of an imaginary dialogue, a description, or an anecdote. The uniformity of the devices employed is amusing. Certain individuals, as Favorinus, Fronto, Castricius, Calvisius Taurus, Sulpicius Apollinaris, figure as the interlocutors in the dialogue ; but it is hardly to be supposed that the scenes into which they are introduced are other than fictitious. They may, of course, be taken as giving a general idea of the life of

¹ Praef. 11. 12. 13.

Gellius, his pursuits, and the sphere in which he moved; but they are, in all probability, no more historical than the introductory scenes of Plato's or Cicero's dialogues. As a foil to the instructed scholar or philosopher there often appears a conceited or affected or generally unseasonable individual¹ whose delusions are exposed by the light of superior wisdom. Sometimes the devil's advocate appears in another shape, as in 19. 1. 7, where a rich Asiatic Greek is disagreeable enough, on a sea-voyage, to ask a Stoic philosopher who has shown signs of alarm at a tempest, to explain to him how it is that he has been pale and trembling all the while, while the speaker has given no indication of fear.

Were these loquacious or ignorant or conceited individuals to be taken seriously, we should have reason to hold up our hands in horror at the social condition of the second century A. D.; but they are in all probability mere men of straw. In any case they are tedious enough; nor is their constant introduction the only instance of want of skill shown in the composition of the *Noctes Atticae*.

Sometimes, as Mercklin and Kretzschmer² have pointed out, the form of the dialogue is not consistently maintained through a whole chapter; thus in 1. 7 Gellius starts by quoting a passage from Cicero's fifth speech against Verres; no indication of time or place is given, yet in § 3 the writer proceeds *videbatur compluribus in extremo verbo menda esse*, and in § 4 *aderat forte*

¹ 1. 2. 3, *adulescens philosophiae sectator . . . sed loquacior impendio et promptior*. 1. 10. 1, *adulescenti veterum verborum cupidissimo*. 4. 1. 1, *ostentabat quispiam grammaticae rei ditior scholica quaedam nugalia*. 5. 21. 4, *reprehensor audaculus verborum*. 6. 17. 1. 6, *grammaticum primae . . . celebritatis, . . . insolentis hominis inscitiam*. 7. 16. 1, *eiusmodi quispiam, qui tumultuariis et inconditis linguae exercitationibus ad famam sese facundiae promiserat*. 8. 10, *grammaticus quidam praestigiosus*. *ib.* 14, *intempestivus quidam de ambiguitate verborum disserens*. 9. 15. 1, *introit adulescens et praefatur arrogantius et elatius*. 11. 7. 3, *vetus celebratusque homo in causis, sed repentina et quasi tumultuaria doctrina praeditus*. 18. 4. 1, *iactator quispiam et venditor Sallustianae lectionis*. 20. 10. 2, *ille me despiciens*.

² When Mercklin and Kretzschmer are quoted, the reference is to the essay of Mercklin, in the *Jahrbücher für Classische Philologie*, Suppl. 3 (1860), and to that of Kretzschmer, *De Auli Gellii fontibus*, Greifswald, 1860.

amicus noster. In 2. 22 an elaborate account of the winds is put into the mouth of Favorinus; the dialogue is continued to the end of § 26, yet in § 30 Gellius quotes something which he has already attributed to Favorinus as if he had said it himself. There is a similar awkwardness at the end of 5. 21, where an opinion of Sinius Capito, having been originally introduced in the course of a supposed dialogue, is treated as if it had been cited by Gellius. In 13. 21. 9 it is quite clear that the passage discussed by Gellius had really been treated by Probus in the work from which the first part of the chapter is quoted, and this fact is enough to raise a suspicion that the anecdote about Probus is mere padding. A similar remark applies to the end of 19. 8, where there is no real distinction between the observations offered by Gellius himself and those previously put into the mouth of Fronto.

There are other marks of carelessness in composition. Gellius is apt, for instance, to introduce one of his interlocutors twice over, thus Herodes Atticus is described (1. 2) as *vir et Graeca facundia et consulari honore praeditus*, and so 9. 2, *Herodem Atticum, consularem virum ingenioque amoeno et Graeca facundia celebrem*. Antonius Julianus (1. 4. 1) *rhetor perquam fuit honesti atque amoeni ingenii; doctrina quoque ista utiliore (subtiliore, Madvig) ac delectabili veterumque elegantiarum cura et memoria multa fuit; ad hoc scripta omnia tam curiose spectabat*, etc. 19. 9. 1, *Antonius Julianus rhetor, docendis publice iuvenibus magister, Hispano ore florentisque homo facundiae et rerum litterarumque veterum peritus*. Titus Castricius 11. 13. 1, *disciplinae rhetoricae doctor, gravi atque firmo iudicio vir*. 13. 22, *rhetoricae disciplinae doctor, qui habuit Romae locum principem declamandi ac docendi, summa vir auctoritate gravitateque*. Apion 5. 14, *qui Πλειστονεΐκης appellatus est, litteris homo multis praeditus rerumque Graecarum plurima atque varia scientia fuit*. 7. 8. 1, *Graecus homo qui Πλειστονεΐκης appellatus est, facili atque alacri facundia fuit*. Tullius Tiro 6. 3. 8, *M. Ciceronis libertus, sane quidem fuit ingenio homo eleganti et haudquaquam rerum litterarumque veterum indoctus, eoque ab ineunte aetate liberaliter instituto adminiculatore*

et quasi administro in studiis litterarum Cicero usus est. 13. 9. 1, *Tullius Tiro, M. Ciceronis alumnus et libertus adiutorque in litteris studiorum eius fuit.*

An extract is sometimes so carelessly torn from its context that marks of the rent are still visible. Thus the epitome of 3. 17 begins *id quoque esse a gravissimis viris memoriae mandatum*, where there is nothing in the previous chapter to lead up to the *quoque*. Exactly in the same way 10. 8. 1, *fuit haec quoque antiquitus militaris animadversio.* 12. 12. 1, *haec quoque disciplina rhetorica (? disciplinae rhetoricae?) est.* 18. 12. 1, *id quoque habitum est in oratione facienda elegantiae genus.*

Sometimes Gellius alludes or seems to allude to things which he has nowhere said, or proposes discussions which are nowhere started: thus 2. 22. 31, *considerandum igitur est quid sit secundo sole*, a question which is not treated anywhere else; and so it is with 12. 14. 7, *censuimus igitur amplius quaerendum.* 13. 7. 6, *in quibus, quod super ipsa re scriptum invenerimus, cum ipsius Aristotelis verbis in his commentariis scribemus.* 14. 7. 13, *de hac omni re alio in loco plenius accuratiusque nos meminisse scribere* (a discussion on the forms of the *senatus consultum*, which occurs nowhere else, not even in the epitomes of the eighth book). 18. 4. 11, *quos notavi et intulisse iam me aliquo in loco commentationibus istis existimo.*

It should further be observed that the same point is sometimes treated twice in much the same words: compare 2. 26. 9; 3. 9. 9, *palmae termes ex arbore cum fructu evulsus 'spadix' dicitur: σπάδικα δωριστί vocant avulsum e palma termitem cum fructu.* 3. 16, §§ 18-19; 15. 5. 5, *adfecta . . . ea proprie dicebantur quae non ad finem ipsum sed proxime finem progressa deductave erant. Hoc verbum ad hanc sententiam Cicero in hac fecit quam dixit de provinciis consularibus.* The same quotation, with others, is given 15. 5. 5.

We may now approach the central question, From what authors, and from what works, does Gellius mainly derive his information? Like many other ancient writers, Gellius does not think it his duty in all cases to mention his authorities by name.

While a large number of his chapters are anonymous, in an equally large number of instances he professes to have taken his information from one of his own contemporaries, Favorinus, Fronto, Castricius, Antonius Julianus, Calvisius Taurus, and so on. But the reader soon becomes convinced that these names are mere *personae* introduced to give an attractive setting to the extracts quoted under them. Deducting, then, this element of illusion, we have to ask what means we have for ascertaining the actual authorities consulted by Gellius? When he quotes Varro, for instance, can we be sure that he has read Varro, or is some intermediate work the source of his information?

Mercklin has called attention to a remarkable fact affecting Gellius's manner of quotation. We find that an ancient work is, in one place, cited under its proper title, while in another it is mentioned as if that title were unknown to the writer. Thus in 14. 3. 4 Plato's *Laws* is spoken of as *quidam liber*, while in 15. 2. §§ 3 and 4, Gellius seems to be aware that there was a work by Plato, *De Legibus*, and so again in 20. 1. 4. It sometimes, too, happens that the same work is quoted under slightly different titles; a fact, perhaps, of less importance. But the case of Plato's *νόμοι* makes it almost certain that Gellius did not know that work at first hand; and one instance is enough to make us justly suspicious in many more. Let us, for example, take 2. 21. 8, where Gellius gives the impression of citing, at first hand, Varro's opinion on the word *septemtriones*. A comparison of this passage with the similar one in Festus, p. 339 (Müller), leads almost irresistibly to the conclusion that Gellius's immediate authority was not Varro, but Verrius Flaccus quoting Varro.

Mercklin accuses our author, in one case, of something very like downright inveracity. In 9. 4, Gellius professes to quote from Aristetas, Isogonus, Ctesias, Onesicritus, Philostephanus, and Hegesias, certain wonderful stories, adding that he found *in isdem libris scriptum quod postea in libro quoque septimo Plinii Secundi Naturalis Historiae legi*. Now the first part of the chapter of

Gellius (or rather much of the substance of it) is also to be found in Pliny, 7, § 11 foll., and Mercklin therefore infers that Gellius is indebted to Pliny for this part as well. In this instance, I am inclined to think, he is too hard upon Gellius. The difference of language between Gellius and Pliny is so considerable that it seems to me most probable that the two writers are here using the same authorities.

In 17. 15, Gellius borrows his whole account of the two kinds of hellebore from Pliny, 25. 47 foll. But Pliny's name is not mentioned until the sixth section, and then only in such a way as to put the reader off the scent. The two following chapters, however, which contain stories of Mithridates and his knowledge of medicine and of languages, although they may be found in Pliny (25. 6; 29. 24) in a shorter form, contain some information which is absent from his text, and must therefore be taken from some common authority; perhaps the memoirs of Pompeius Lenaeus.

The instance of 17. 15 will serve as a specimen of what we must look for throughout the whole of the *Noctes Atticae*. Gellius often alludes to his authority, but gives the false impression that only a part of the chapter in which it is mentioned is borrowed from him.

It sometimes, to all appearance, happens that Gellius makes extracts from more than one work in the same chapter. At the end of 3. 9, for instance, after speaking of some proverbial expressions, he goes out of his way to inform us that *spadix* and *poeniceus* mean one and the same thing; at the end of 9. 1 there is a remark of a lexicographical character on the word *defendo*; so at the end of 10. 3 on *Bruttiani*, of 13. 11 on *bellaria*, of 13. 22 on *crepidarius*, of 20. 5 on *cognobilis*. Mercklin thinks the same was the case in other places.

Perhaps the best way of getting an approximate idea of the character of the works consulted by Gellius will be to analyse his whole book according to the subjects of which it treats. In this way we shall obtain a *conspectus* of its general scope, and shall also be able to establish a visible connection, not only

between some neighbouring chapters, but between distant parts of the *Noctes Atticae*. This connection is sometimes so close as to lead irresistibly to the conclusion that the kindred sections belong to the same original work.

The *Noctes Atticae* is a work of such miscellaneous contents that it is impossible to make an entirely satisfactory table of them. A margin of unclassified matter must remain, whatever principle of arrangement be adopted. A rough distribution of the main bulk into certain great divisions is, however, possible. We may take as the first branch that of philosophy, understanding that term to include metaphysics, psychology, logic, and morals.

The true as distinguished from the false study of philosophy is touched upon briefly in 1. 2 and 10. 22 ; but there is nothing in these chapters which should lead us to connect them. 5. 15, *corpusne sit vox an ἀσώματον, varias esse philosophorum sententias*, is evidently from the same source as the following chapter, *de vi oculorum deque videndi rationibus*. The authority is at least as late as the Ciceronian age, and almost certainly Latin, as Lucretius and Ennius are quoted. The first and second chapters of the seventh book, in which the opinions of Chrysippus on Providence and on Fate are discussed, are no less obviously akin, and probably from the same source; which, if we may press the fact that Cicero is quoted at the end of the second chapter, was presumably a late one. The first chapter of the fourteenth book, *Dissertatio Favorini philosophi adversus eos qui Chaldaei appellantur et ex coetu motibusque siderum et stellarum fata hominum dicturos pollicentur*, deals with a cognate subject.

Turning to ethics, we find a discussion as to the nature of the *summum bonum* between a Stoic and Peripatetic in the first chapter of the eighteenth book; the doctrine of Chrysippus *περὶ καλοῦ καὶ ἡδονῆς*, as applied to the character of justice, is expounded in 14. 4. Connected in subject with the latter is 9. 5, in which various philosophical views of pleasure, concluding with that of the Stoic Hierocles, are presented. Three chapters on the relation of reason to passion (1. 26; 12. 5;

19. 1) are closely connected, and may come from the same manual (a very late one), or set of lectures. The first, on anger, purports to be from Taurus and Plutarch; the second, which is also professedly from Taurus, deals with the Stoic theory of bearing pain; the third gives the opinion of Epictetus on the subject of fear. We may mention in this connection the discourse of Herodes Atticus against ἀπάθεια (19. 12).

The following chapters touch on various points of logic: 11. 12 (Chrysippus on ambiguous terms); 15. 26 (a proposed Latin translation of Aristotle's definition of a syllogism); 16. 8 (Latin equivalents for several Greek technical terms); 5. 10. 11 (the argument called ἀντιστρέφον, again treated in 9. 16); 18. 13 (a story of a fallacy tried unsuccessfully upon Diogenes). Of these, 16. 8 deserves the most attention. I am tempted to think that it comes from Varro, whether from the twenty-fourth book of the *De Lingua Latina*, quoted in the fourth section, or from the *Disciplinae*.

The eighth and ninth chapters of the second book are from Plutarch; the second, fourth, fifth, and sixth of the nineteenth book from the *Problemata* of Aristotle, though in the fifth chapter the debt is not quite directly acknowledged.

The ninth chapter of the first book, the eleventh of the fourth, and the fifth of the eleventh, touch on points connected with the history of philosophy: the first two treating of the Pythagorean discipline; the last, of the difference between Pyrrhonists and Academics.

We may now pass on to another head, that of ethical principles applied. Here some sort of classification is possible, though there are hardly any *data* for inference as to authorities. Four chapters (9. 2; 12. 11; 13. 8; 13. 24) treat of the relation of philosophy to conduct; of these, one (12. 11) contains a *dictum* of Peregrinus, *virum sapientem non peccaturum esse, etiamsi peccasse eum di atque homines ignoraturi forent*; the other three are protests, lodged in various forms, against dilettantism and hypocrisy in the profession of philosophy. Two of these (13. 8; 13. 24) have a distinctly Roman tinge.

Four chapters are devoted to questions of casuistry. In 1. 3 Favorinus, quoting Theophrastus and Cicero, starts the problem *an pro utilitate amicorum delinquendum aliquando sit?* The second and third (1. 13 and 2. 7) open in very much the same way, *in officiis capiendis, censendis, iudicandisque, quae καθήκοντα philosophi appellant, quaeri solet*, etc. *Quaeri solitum est in philosophorum disceptationibus, an semper*, etc. Does this fact point to identity of source? The first discusses the question whether the letter or the spirit of an order is to be taken as the more important; the second, how far a parent's commands are to be taken as binding. Both questions are approached from a Roman point of view. The remaining casuistical chapter is 14. 2, where Gellius consults Favorinus *De Officio Iudicis*.

A number of exhortations to particular virtues and warnings against particular vices should be mentioned here. 1. 17 (from Varro), *de tollendis vitiis uxoris*. 2. 12, Solon's law enforcing the duty of taking a part in political dissensions, and Favorinus's view about a similar duty in private life. 12. 1, *Favorinus suadet nobili feminae uti liberos quos peperisset non nutricum aliarum sed suo sibi lacte aleret*. 13. 28, Panaetius *De cavendis Iniuriis*. 17. 19, Epictetus (quoted by Favorinus), ἀνέχου καὶ ἀπέχου. 1. 15, Favorinus against the vice of loquacity. 6. 16; 15. 19, Varro (περὶ ἐδεσμάτων) against luxury. 9. 8 (Favorinus), *qui multa habet, multis eget*. 15. 8, an ancient orator *De cenarum atque luxuriae opprobatione*. 7. 11 (Metellus Numidicus), *cum inquinatissimis hominibus non esse convicio decertandum*. 8. 6 (Taurus, from Theophrastus and Cicero), *cum post offensiunculas in gratiam redeatur, expostulationes fieri mutuas minime utile esse*. 10. 19 (Taurus), *non purgari neque levare peccatum cum praetenditur peccatorum, quae alii quoque peccaverunt, similitudo*.

A transition is natural from the last head to the *exempla* or remarkable instances of praiseworthy conduct cited in the *Noctes Atticae*. Among these two only are from Greek history, the story of the habits of Socrates put into the mouth of Favorinus (2. 1), and that told by Taurus (7. 10) about the youth of Euclides. The rest are Roman, and are as follows: 1. 14, the

story of Fabricius and the Samnites; 2. 2, the two Fabii, father and son; 4. 8, Fabricius Luscinus and the avaricious Rufinus; 6. 18, the sanctity of oaths among the ancient Romans; 6. 19, Ti. Gracchus and Scipio Asiaticus; 7. 8, Scipio's continence; 7. 9, Cn. Flavius the *scriba*; 12. 4, Ennius's character as sketched by himself; 12. 8, the reconciliation of P. Scipio and Ti. Gracchus; 15. 12, C. Gracchus on his own quaestorship.

Of the authorities for some of these stories something certain may be said, at least on the negative side. Gellius has not borrowed anything from Valerius Maximus, natural as it would seem that he should have done so. In 12. 7. § 8, after relating the story of Cn. Dolabella and the woman who was brought before him at Smyrna on the charge of poisoning her son and husband, he says *scripta haec historia est in libro Valeri Maximi factorum et dictorum memorabilium octavo*. Yet any careful reader of Gellius's narrative must see that although he has read Valerius Maximus (8. 1. 2 *damn.*), he has not copied him, for he adds two details about which Valerius is silent: *venenis clam datis*, of the one murder; *exceptum insidiis*, of the other. Again, let us compare Gellius 1. 14 with Valerius Maximus 4. 3. 6. The story (of C. Fabricius and the Samnite envoys) is told by Gellius in a far fuller and more characteristic manner than by Valerius. Gellius professes to take it from Hyginus, *De Vita Rebusque illustrium Virorum*, which was probably the common authority for both writers. Both writers again have a story about Fabricius Luscinus and Cornelius Rufinus (Gellius, 4. 8, Valerius Maximus, 2. 9. 4) which occurs in a different context in Gellius from that in which it is set by Maximus. The style of Gellius's narrative in this case tempts me to suppose that it is from the hand of a classical writer, such as Hyginus or Nepos. The work of Nepos called *exempla* is quoted explicitly by Gellius when, in the eighteenth chapter of his sixth book, he is narrating the history of the ten captives who returned to Rome after Cannae; indeed it is not impossible that the whole of the chapter comes from this work. The same may be the case with the story in the following chapter about Ti. Gracchus and

Scipio Asiaticus, which is given in an abridged form by Valerius Maximus (4. 1. 8). For Gellius begins by saying *pulchrum atque liberale atque magnanimum factum Ti. Sempronii Gracchi in exemplis repositum est*. The story of Scipio's continence (7. 8) is apparently drawn from an older source than the version given by Valerius Maximus (4. 3. 1). The relation between the two writers is, I think, the same with regard to the two narratives given by Gellius 12. 8 and Valerius Maximus 4. 2. 3; 4. 2. 1¹. Thus in six instances it is highly probable that Gellius follows an authority older than Valerius Maximus. In one of them he expressly cites Hyginus, in another Nepos; and it is therefore not rash to infer that he is indebted to these two writers for a considerable part of his information under the head which we have been discussing.

Five chapters of the *Noctes Atticae* are devoted to natural philosophy; these are, 2. 22, on the winds; 2. 26, on the names of colours; 2. 30, on the effect of different winds on the motion of the waves; 9. 1, on the direction of blows as influencing their strength. Of these, chapters 2. 22 and 2. 30 must be derived from the same sources as the corresponding passages in Pliny (2. 126 foll.).

There are also four chapters on points of human pathology; 3. 16 (*temporis varietas in puerperis mulierum*), partly from Varro. 4. 19, again from Varro, *de moderando victu puerorum impubium*. 17. 11, from Plutarch, *de habitu atque natura stomachi*. 18. 10, *errare istos, qui in exploranda febre venarum pulsus pertemptari putant, non arteriarum*.

The department of rhetoric is not very fully represented in the *Noctes Atticae*. The notes which fall under this head consist mainly of criticisms on passages in the ancient orators from Cato to Cicero, and exhibit a considerable similarity; but it is hardly possible to infer anything as to their source. Indeed it

¹ Mercklin thinks that the story of Aemilius Lepidus and Fulvius Flaccus comes directly from Valerius Maximus. There seems, however, to be nothing in the language to necessitate such a conclusion, while of the preceding story about the older Africanus and Ti. Gracchus, Gellius gives a fuller, and therefore probably an older, version.

is not impossible that they come, as they profess to do, from the contemporaries of Gellius himself. We may notice as kindred in spirit the remarks of Castricius upon Metellus Numidicus (1. 6), and the defence of Cato against the strictures of Tullius Tiro (6. 3). In both chapters the point insisted on is the difference between the manner suitable to an advocate and that suitable to a statesman. Perhaps we may also connect 12. 12 and 16. 2, which deal with the art of reply. Cicero is defended against captious criticism in 1. 4 and 17. 5. The remaining chapters do not admit of any classification; they are 9. 15 (a case of *ἀπορον* or *inexplicabile*); 17. 12 (*materiae infames*); 17. 20 (a translation of a passage in Plato's *Symposium*).

If the contributions of Gellius to the art of rhetoric are scanty, the same cannot be said of the passages of ancient literary criticism which he has preserved. Twenty-eight chapters are devoted to this subject, some of which may be easily arranged together as containing similar matter. Nine are given to the question of translation or adaptation from Greek into Latin. These are 2. 23, where Caecilius is compared, much to his disadvantage, with Menander; 11. 4, a criticism of a translation from Euripides by Ennius; 2. 27, where Castricius is represented as contrasting Sallust's description of Sertorius with that of Philip by Demosthenes; 8. 8 and 17. 20, which touch upon Gellius's own efforts at rendering Plato; 9. 9; 13. 27; 17. 10, comparisons with their originals of Vergil's renderings or adaptations from Theocritus, Homer, Parthenius, and Pindar; 19. 11, a translation by a friend of Gellius of some erotic verses by Plato. It is natural to suppose that some of these criticisms are taken from a manual in which the whole question of translation was discussed. Such a work, in all probability, was the *ὁμοιότητες* of Octavius Avitus, mentioned by Suetonius in his life of Vergil.

1. 10 and 11. 7 contain protests against the affectation of antiquarianism in writing. General remarks on style will be found in 2. 5 (a short comparison between Plato and Lysias);

10. 3, where the styles of Gracchus and Cicero are contrasted; 16. 1 (the expression of the same thought by Cato and Musonius). 11. 13 and 14, which contain the praises of C. Gracchus and the historian L. Piso, seem to be intimately connected. Other chapters falling under this head are 15. 24 (the metrical criticism of Roman comedians by Volcatius Sedigitus); 6. 14, where Varro's distinction between the three styles (*uber*, *gracilis*, *mediocris*) is quoted; 18. 8 (Lucilius on *ἁμοιοτέλευτα*); and 12. 2 (Seneca upon Ennius and Cicero).

Three chapters (3. 1; 4. 15; 10. 26) are devoted to criticism, mainly defensive, of Sallust, whose abrupt and antiquarian style appears to have attracted a great deal of attention on the part of scholars and literary men. Three again (5. 8; 9. 10; 10. 16) contain pleadings in defence of Vergil against strictures of Hyginus and Cornutus, taken possibly from the work of Asconius *Contra obtretractores Vergilii*. In 15. 6 attention is drawn to a mistake of Cicero's. Finally, 3. 3 deals (after Varro) with the question of the genuine and spurious plays of Plautus.

History and biography absorb thirty-six chapters. Among these we may fairly distinguish the following groups: (1) 1. 23; 9. 11. 13, on Roman *cognomina* (Praetextatus, Corvinus, and Torquatus). These notices are so similar in tone and composition as to suggest the inference that they come from the same source, which may have been perhaps the work of Cornelius Epicadus, Sulla's freedman, on *cognomina*. It should be observed that the twenty-third chapter of the first book is verbally identical with a passage in the first book of Macrobius's *Saturnalia* (1. 6. 18 foll.). It has been of course assumed that Macrobius borrowed from Gellius; but against this hypothesis it may be urged that Macrobius goes on to supplement the story about Praetextatus by further information respecting other *cognomina* unknown to Gellius, and this in such a natural and easy way as to lead us to suppose that the whole passage is taken from some book which dealt in a comprehensive way with the whole subject. We should probably have known more of this work and its contents had the last

book of Nonius been preserved. (2) Six chapters (1. 24; 3. 3; 8. 15; 12. 4; 13. 2; 17. 14) are devoted to interesting passages in the lives of Latin poets. In one of these cases the relation between Gellius and Macrobius is precisely the same as that which has just been considered. I allude to the notice of Publilius Syrus, which is fuller in Macrobius 2. 7, than in Gellius 17. 14. Is Varro the authority for these fragments of biography? he is expressly quoted in 1. 24 and 3. 3. (3) Fragments of biographies of Greek poets are preserved 3. 11; 15. 20; 17. 4. The last of these comes ostensibly from the *Chronicon* of Apollodorus, but may well have been taken from Varro's adaptations from that work; for Varro is actually cited in 3. 11. (4) Another group of chapters (5. 3; 13. 5; 14. 3; 20. 5) deals with lives of Greek philosophers; while (5) a large number contains notes of remarkable facts from Roman history (1. 13 end; 2. 11; 3. 7. 8; 4. 14. 18; 7. 3. 4; 10. 27. 28; 15. 4. 11; 18. 22). We are here brought back to the question of the relation between Gellius and Valerius Maximus, and are led to the same conclusion as before. Gellius generally transcribes, not from Maximus, but from writers much older. Both authors give a catalogue of the exploits of L. Sicinius Dentatus (Maximus 3. 2. 24, Gellius 2. 11). The facts narrated are the same, but the style of Gellius is simpler and more antique, and Valerius Maximus expressly mentions Varro among his authorities. It is therefore possible that Gellius has preserved the account given by Varro. The story of Pyrrhus and the consuls Fabricius and Aemilius is given by Gellius (3. 8) directly from Claudius Quadrigarius; Valerius Maximus's version (6. 5. 1) is much shorter. So again the history of Scipio Africanus and his accusers is told more fully and accurately by Gellius (4. 18) than by Valerius (3. 7. 1). A similar remark applies to the accounts of the death of Regulus (Maximus 9. 2, *Ext.* 1, Gellius 7. 4). For the rest, 10. 27 (*historia de populo Romano deque populo Poenico, quod pari propemodum vigore fuerint aemuli*) bears the name of Varro; 10. 28 (the classes of Servius Tullius) that of Tubero. 15. 4 (*historia de Ventidio Basso*) must be from

Suetonius, whose name appears at the end of the chapter; and so perhaps 15. 11 (*de exigendis urbe Roma philosophis*), the authority of which is later than the accession of Domitian.

To arithmetic and geometry a few sections only are given: 1. 1 (from Plutarch) *de comprehendenda corporis proceritate qua fuit Hercules*. 1. 20, containing Latin equivalents for Greek geometrical terms. 3. 10, *septenarii numeri vis et facultas*. 16. 18, *lepida quaedam et memoratu et cognitu de parte geometriae quae ὀπτική appellatur*, etc. 18. 14, *quid sit numerus hemiolios, quid epitritos; et quod vocabula ista non facile nostri ausi sunt convertere in linguam Latinam*. 18. 15, *quod M. Varro in herois versibus observaverit rem nimis anxiae et curiosae observationis*. Of these, four, 1. 20; 3. 10; 16. 18; 18. 15, bear the name of Varro, 18. 15 quoting expressly from his work entitled *Disciplinae*. It is highly probable that 1. 20; 16. 18; 18. 14 come from the same treatise.

The name of Gellius is perhaps most familiarly connected in the minds of modern students with the subject of Roman antiquities, social, political, and religious. To this upwards of thirty chapters, and those on the whole very important, are set apart. The following groups may be distinguished: (1) notes on religious antiquities. 1. 12, perhaps from Antistius Labeo, *virgo Vestae quid aetatis et ex quali familia et quo ritu quibusque caerimoniis et religionibus, ac quo nomine a pontifice maximo capiatur, et quo statim iure esse incipiat simul atque capta est; quodque, ut Labeo dicit, nec intestato cuiquam nec eius intestatae quisquam iure heres est*. 10. 15, *de flaminis Dialis deque flaminicae caerimoniis; verbaque ex edicto praetoris apposita quibus dicit non coacturum se ad iurandum neque virgines Vestae neque Dialem*. This chapter bears the names of Varro and Masurius Sabinus. 2. 28, apparently from Varro, *non esse compertum cui deo rem divinam fieri oporteat, cum terra movet*. (2) On social customs. 2. 15, *quod antiquitus aetati senectae potissimum habiti sunt ampli honores, et cur postea ad maritos et ad patres idem isti honores delati sint*; the authority is uncertain, but not older than the *leges Iuliae*. 5. 13, *de officiorum gradu atque ordine moribus populi*

Romani observato. This chapter quotes from Masurius Sabinus. 6. 4, *cuiusmodi servos et quam ob causam Caelius Sabinus, iuris civilis auctor, pilleatos venum dari solitos scripserit.* 6. 12, *de tunicis chiridotis: quod earum usum P. Africanus Sulpicio Gallo obiecit.* The authority for this chapter must be later than Vergil, who is quoted in it. 10. 23, *de mulierum veterum victu et moribus*; perhaps from Varro. 11. 6, in which Varro is quoted, *quod mulieres Romae per Herculem non iuraverint neque viri per Castorem.* (3) 4. 3, and 4, on points of the Roman marriage laws, from Servius Sulpicius *De Dotibus.* (4) Notes on the powers of certain high officers: the censors, 4. 12. 20; 6. 22; the aediles and quaestors, 13. 12 and 13: mostly from Varro. 14. 7, *de officio senatus habendi*; 8, *an praefectus Latinarum causa ius senatus convocandi consulendique habeat?* both from Ateius Capito. (5) Questions of military antiquities. 5, 6, *de coronis militaribus*, partly at least from Masurius Sabinus. 10. 8, *inter ignominias militares quibus milites exercebantur fuisse sanguinis dimissionem.* 10. 9, *quibus modis quoque habitu acies Romana instrui solita sit.* 10. 25, *telorum et iaculorum gladiatorumque, atque inibi navium quoque vocabula, quae scripta in veterum libris reperiuntur.* This last chapter should be compared with the thirteenth and nineteenth books of Nonius and parts of the eighteenth and nineteenth of Isidore's *Origines.* The three accounts have the appearance of coming from a common authority, which was probably the *Pratum* of Suetonius. 16. 4, the ancient form of declaring war, and the military oath. This chapter has in § 5 matter given also by Paulus, p. 112. (6) Extracts from the augur Messala's work *De auspiciis*, the *pomerium*, the *minores* and *maiores magistratus*; *aliud esse contionem habere, aliud cum populo agere*; 13. 14; 15. 16. We should also mention the following chapters: 3. 2, on the Roman day, from Varro, supplemented by an early commentator on Vergil. This account is to be found in Macrobius Sat. 1. 3, continued and completed. 5. 19, quoting Masurius Sabinus, on adoption. 15. 27 (Laelius Felix from Labeo), on the *comitia.*

There are also four chapters on legal history: 2. 24, on the

leges sumptuariae from the *Coniectanea* of Ateius Capito. 6. 15, and 11. 18, on *furtum*, from Antistius Labeo and Masurius Sabinus respectively; and 20. 1, professedly a dialogue between Caecilius and Favorinus on some passages in the Twelve Tables.

But Latin lexicography is the subject which absorbs most of the chapters that can be assigned to any single branch of learning. If I am not mistaken, more than one hundred chapters, about a quarter of the whole work, are devoted to it. Among these we may without difficulty distinguish five groups, which should perhaps be respectively assigned to different authorities. The first of these groups, embracing by far the largest part of the whole, contains articles of pure lexicography, as follows:

1. 16, on the use of *mille* in the singular, compare Festus, p. 153, *mille singulariter dicebant*. Macrobius has the same note (1. 5. 4 foll.).

1. 25, *indutiae*.

2. 4, *divinatio*. (Partly from Gavius Bassus *De Origine Vocabulorum*.)

2. 10, *favisae*. Compare Paulus, p. 88.

2. 16, *postumus*. Partly from Caesellius Vindex.

2. 19, *rescire*.

2. 21, *septem triones*. Compare Festus, p. 339.

3. 9, *equus Seianus, aurum Tolosanum*. From Gavius Bassus and Julius Modestus.

3. 16, §§ 18, 19, *adfectius*.

3. 18, *pedarii senatores*. Gavius Bassus is mentioned, but the bulk of the note may be from Verrius Flaccus; compare Festus, p. 210.

4. 1, *penus*. The latest authority quoted is Masurius Sabinus, but the word was treated by Verrius; see Festus, p. 250.

4. 6, *praecidaneus* and *succidaneus*. Compare Festus, pp. 218, 302.

4. 9, *religiosus*. Compare Festus, pp. 278, 289.

4. 12, *impolitiae*. Compare Paulus, p. 108.

5. 12, *Veiovis*. Compare Festus, p. 379, and for the note on *Lucretius*, Paulus, p. 114.

5. 17, *dies atri*. This note is avowedly from Verrius Flaccus, and so also the following one (5. 18) on *historia* and *annales*.

5. 21, *pluria, compluria, compluriens*. Compare Paulus, p. 59; the note, however, professes to come from Sinius Capito.

6. 4, *sub corona venire*. Compare Festus, p. 306, who quotes the same passage from Cato, so that the article, though taken directly from Caelius Sabinus, may ultimately come from Verrius Flaccus.

6. 13, *classicus, infra classem*. For the latter compare Paulus, p. 113, and for *classicus*, Paulus, p. 56, on *classici testes*.

6. 17, *obnoxius*.

7. 5, *purus, putus*. From Verrius; see Festus, p. 217.

7. 16, *deprecor*.

8. 10, *halophanta*. Compare Paulus, p. 101.

8. 12, *plerique omnes*.

8. 13, *cupsones*.

8. 14, words from Naevius and Cn. Gellius.

9. 1, § 8, *defendo*.

10. 3, § 18, *Bruttiani*. Probably from Verrius; compare Paulus, p. 31.

10. 11, *maturus, praecox* (= Macrobius, 6. 8. 7, foll.)

10. 13, *cum partim*.

10. 14, *contumelia mihi factum itur*.

10. 20, *lex, rogatio*, etc. For *privilegium* compare Paulus, p. 226.

10. 29, *atque, deque*.

11. 1, *Italia, multa*. For *Italia* compare Paulus, p. 106.

11. 2, *elegans*.

11. 3, *pro*. Compare Paulus, p. 228.

11. 7, *apluda, flocces, bovinator*. For *apluda* and *bovinator* compare Paulus, pp. 10, 30.

11. 11, *mentiri* and *mendacium dicere*. From Nigidius Figulus.

11. 17, *retare flumina*. Compare Festus, p. 273.

12. 10, *aeditumus*. Compare Paulus, p. 13.

12. 13, *intra Kalendas*.

12. 14, *saltem*.

13. 1, *fatum* and *natura*.
13. 11, § 7, *bellaria*. Compare perhaps Paulus, p. 35.
13. 17, *humanitas*.
13. 18, *inter os atque offam*.
13. 22, §§ 7, 8, *gallicae, crepidarius*.
13. 23, *Nerio, Neriene*.
13. 25 (beginning), *manubiae*.
13. 29, *multi mortales*.
13. 30, *facies*.
13. 31, *caninum prandium*.
15. 30, *petorritum*. Compare Paulus, p. 207.
16. 5, *vestibulum*. The remarks on *vescus* closely resemble the note on this word in Paulus, p. 368.
16. 6, *bidens*. This note is either from Hyginus, as it professes to be, or from Verrius Flaccus; compare Paulus, p. 35.
16. 9, *susque deque*. The note on this phrase in Festus, p. 290, has nothing in common with this chapter.
16. 10, *proletarii, adsidui*. Compare Paulus, pp. 9, 226.
16. 13, *municipium* and *colonia*.
16. 14, *festinare* and *properare*. From Verrius Flaccus.
16. 16, *Agrippa*.
16. 17, *Vaticanus collis*. This and the preceding note are from Varro's *Rerum Divinarum*.
17. 6, *servus recepticius*. Suggested by a passage in the *De obscuris Catonis* of Verrius Flaccus.
17. 13, various meanings of *quin*.
18. 2, § 12 foll., *verare*.
18. 7, *contio*. Avowedly from Verrius Flaccus.
18. 9, *inseco*. Ultimately, perhaps, from Verrius; compare Paulus, p. 111, s. v. *insece*.
19. 10, *praeter propter*.
19. 13, *nanus*. Compare Festus, p. 176.
20. 2, *siticines*. Professedly from Ateius Capito and Caesellius Vindex.
20. 3, *sicinnista*.
20. 5, § 13, *cognobilis*.

20. 10, *ex iure manu consortum*.

20. 11, *sculna*. From Lavinius, *De Verbis sordidis*.

A considerable number of these notes, it will have been observed, coincides to a greater or less extent with articles in Festus or Paulus, and may therefore with much probability be referred to Verrius Flaccus.

The second group of lexicographical notices contains remarks on the usages of particular authors:

12. 15, adverbs used by Sisenna.

17. 2, words found in the *Annales* of Claudius Quadrigarius.

19. 7, words used by Laevius.

17. 1, Cicero's use of *paenitere*.

10. 26, peculiar usages of Sallust.

15. 25; 20. 9, words invented by Matius.

16. 7, bold expressions of Laberius.

18. 11, expressions of Furius Antias, objected to by Caesellius Vindex.

2. 6; 7. 6; 8. 5, peculiarities in the diction of Vergil; defended against the attacks of Hyginus or Cornutus.

The Vergilian notes, as they are all defensive, may perhaps come from Asconius *Contra obtrectatores Vergilii*. Some of the others may possibly be referred to Caesellius Vindex, who is mentioned in 18. 11.

The third group consists of remarks on words which had changed their meaning since the classical period:

1. 22, *superesse*.

2. 20, *vivaria*.

6. 11, *levitas* and *nequitia*.

8. 14, words used in unusual senses by Naevius and Cn. Gellius.

10. 21, *novissimus* and *novissime*.

13. 6, *barbarismus*.

15. 5, *profligare*.

The similarity of these articles tempts one to refer them to a separate work.

Fourthly, there are a few articles treating of differences of meaning between words apparently synonymous. These are—

3. 12, *bibax* and *bibosus*. From the *Commentarii grammatici* of Nigidius Figulus.

3. 14, *dimidium* and *dimidiatum*.

4. 2, *morbis* and *vitium*. The latest authority quoted is Caelius Sabinus.

13. 3, *necessitudo* and *necessitas*.

18. 4, *vanus* and *stolidus*. Ultimately, perhaps, from Nigidius.

18. 6, *matrona* and *mater familias*. Aelius Melissus corrected by a reference, in all probability, to Verrius Flaccus; compare Paulus, p. 125, s. v. *matrona* and *mater familias*.

Fifthly, three chapters deal with words of double meaning: 8. 14; 9. 12, *formidolosus*, *infestus*, *nescius*, etc., and adjectives used in both an active and a passive sense. Part of this note is from Nigidius. 12. 9, *periculum*, *venenum*, *contagium*, *honor*, all of which, it is observed, are used both in a good and a bad sense.

Etymology is represented by ten chapters: 1. 18, a discussion, started by a passage in Varro, on the derivation of *fur*; 3. 19, on *parcus*, from Gavius Bassus *De Origine verborum et vocabulorum*; 5. 7, from the same work, on *persona*; 7. 12, in which it is shown that *sacellum* is not a compound word; 10. 5, in which the same is shown (as against Nigidius) of *avarus*; 12. 3, on *lictor*, from Valgius and Tullius Tiro; 13. 9, on *hyades*, from Tiro and a later scholar; 13. 4, on *soror* and *frater*, the first from Antistius Labeo, probably quoting Nigidius; 15. 3, on *aufugio*, suggested by a passage in Cicero; 16. 12, suggested by Cloatius Verus, on some words supposed to be taken from the Greek.

Discussions on difficult points of Latin Grammar take up upwards of thirty chapters. 2. 3; 10. 4; 19. 14 treat of the pronunciation of particular letters, *h*, *v*, and some others. 10. 4 and 19. 14 are from the *Commentarii* of Nigidius. Five deal with points of prosody; 2. 17 (the quantity of *in* and *con* in composition); 4. 7, from Probus, on the quantity of the oblique cases of Hannibal and Hasdrubal; 4. 17 (*ob* and *con* before compounds of *iacio*); 7. 15 (the second syllable of *quiesco*);

9. 6 (the first syllable of *actito*). Three touch on questions of accentuation: 6. 7; 13. 26; 17. 3, § 5. Two on unexpected uses of the singular and plural: 2. 13; 19. 8. Seven on case-forms: 4. 16, on the genitive in *-uis* and dative in *-u* of the fourth declension; 9. 14, on the genitive singular of the fifth declension. In the latter chapter Caesellius Vindex is mentioned; the former may be from Pliny, who is quoted as the authority for the similar though much shorter statement of Charisius, p. 143 (Keil) 8. 1 and 10. 24, on *noctu hesterna* and *die crastini*, form part of the same statement, as may easily be seen by a comparison of Macrobius, 1. 4. 16, foll., who has the same instances differently arranged. Compare also Charisius, p. 207, and Nonius, p. 98. 10. 1 discusses the question whether *tertium* or *tertio* is the right form of the adverb, and bears the names of Varro and Tullius Tiro; 20. 6 asks whether *curam vestri* or *vestrum* is right. There are two chapters on points of gender: 6. 2, on the gender of *cor*, from Terentius Scaurus, and 15. 9, on that of *frons*. With the last note we may compare Festus, p. 286, where *recto fronte* is likewise quoted from Cato. Four are on verb-inflexion: 6. 9, on the forms *memordi*, *spepondi*, and *cecurri*, which bears the name of Probus, from whom it very probably comes; 15. 13 and 18. 12, on verbs used both in the active and passive form, probably either from Probus or Pliny¹; 15. 15, on the perfect participle passive of *pando*. A syntactical question (*exigor portorium*) is touched upon in 15. 14.

A curious and interesting, though not a very large, section of the *Noctes Atticae* is that which deals with points of textual criticism. Two notices under this head are expressly said to be taken from Probus: 1. 15, § 18, on *loquentia* and *eloquentia*, and 13. 21, on *urbes* and *urbis* in Vergil. Others are so similar to these in manner and treatment that it is natural to refer them to the same scholar. An appeal is constantly made to good manuscripts against bad; for instance, in 1. 7 to the Tironian

¹ Priscian (1. p. 393 K.) expressly mentions these scholars as having dealt with this subject. For a full discussion of the point I may refer to Conington's *Virgil*, vol. 1 (fourth edition), pp. lxxi foll.

recension of Cicero ; in 1. 16, § 15, and 9. 14, to good copies of Cicero ; in 1. 21 and 9. 14 to an autograph copy of Vergil, or copies known to have been in his house ; in 2. 14 and 10. 13 to good manuscripts of Cato ; similarly to good copies in 5. 4 of Fabius Pictor, in 6. 20 of Catullus, in 9. 14 and 20. 6 of Sallust, in 18. 5 of Ennius. Probus, as we know from his short memoir by Suetonius, gave an immense amount of attention to the collection of good manuscripts of classical authors. The notes just mentioned are very much what he might be supposed to have written, and are, moreover, marked, on the whole, by the same trenchant and positive style.

The remaining sections of the *Noctes Atticae* hardly admit of any logical arrangement. One set of chapters¹ may perhaps be noted as chronicling *mirabilia*, or remarkable natural phenomena ; another² consists of notes on remarkable events. A third group may, for want of a better expression, be said to contain *res memoria dignas*³. A fourth consists of anecdotes⁴. Sometimes the true authority is certainly given ; in one case it is Sotion's *κέρας Ἀμαλθείας*, in another the *Liber Rerum Memoria Dignarum* of Verrius Flaccus ; and these or similar works, such as the *παντοδαπή ιστορία* of Favorinus, may have been the sources of the whole.

The foregoing rough analysis is offered as an aid towards ascertaining the principles which underlie the apparent chaos of the *Noctes Atticae*, and the probable character and periods of the authorities from whom Gellius mostly derived his knowledge. The element of purely miscellaneous information, of information which defies rational arrangement, has turned out to be comparatively small, and to include not much more than an eighth

¹ 3. 6 ; 8. 4 ; 9. 4 ; 10. 2 ; 10. 12 ; 16. 15.

² 3. 15 ; 4. 5 ; 7. 17 ; 15. 10 ; 15. 16 (3. 15 and 15. 16 seem to come from some book on remarkable deaths ; see Pliny 7. 180, where Verrius Flaccus is mentioned as having chronicled a good many).

³ 1. 11 ; 4. 13 ; 5. 9 ; 5. 14 ; 6. 6 ; 6. 8 ; 9. 7 ; 10. 17 ; 12. 7 ; 13. 7 ; 15. 7 ; 16. 3 ; 16. 11 ; 16. 19 ; 17. 15 ; 17. 16 ; 17. 17 ; 20. 7 ; 20. 8.

⁴ 1. 5 ; 1. 8 ; 3. 4 ; 3. 5 ; 3. 13 ; 3. 17 ; 5. 2 ; 5. 5 ; 6. 1 ; 6. 5 ; 8. 9 ; 8. 11 ; 9. 3 ; 10. 6 ; 10. 18 ; 11. 8 ; 11. 9-10 ; 12. 6 ; 13. 4 ; 15. 2 ; 15. 17 ; 15. 31.

part of the whole work. A large part of the *Noctes Atticae* is given to philosophy, including under that term logic, ethics, speculative and practical, and natural science; a fraction to rhetoric, something to literary criticism, a respectable *quota* to history and Roman antiquities; more than a quarter of the whole to lexicography and etymology, and something considerable to grammar and textual criticism. Thus the bulk of the work is taken up with the subjects which formed the main elements of a liberal education in the second century: philosophy, rhetoric, history, literature, and philology. Whether any of Gellius's authorities are older than Varro is very doubtful. We cannot fail to be struck with the fact that large as is the amount of discussion and information bearing upon philosophical questions, that devoted to lexicography, grammar, and criticism of text and style, by far outweighs it both in quantity and in value. The phenomenon is typical of the state of Italian taste and feeling. More than ever before, the attention of the Roman *litterati* is turned to questions of mere form. The genius of classical Italy is dead, and, if Renan may be believed, the distinctive character of the ancient world is passing away. Philosophy is fashionable at court and in the higher ranks of society, but its creative impulse has long been spent, and it has become mainly, if not entirely, a means of enforcing ethical principles in the relations of public and private life. A knowledge of Greek and Roman history is indeed expected, but it is to be employed partly as an instrument for the moral training of the young, partly as an accomplishment for the superficial uses of riper years. Of writing history in the great manner there seems to be no idea. Turning to rhetoric and literary criticism, we find that its masters have become pedants, with little further claim to distinction than that conferred by the hold which they have gained over their wealthy or aristocratic pupils, to whom they repeat the *dicta* of earlier masters. The Hellenic and Italian elements of literature are inextricably blended, not as in the classical period, when the study of Greek seemed only to intensify the natural characteristics of Italian genius, but in a

colourless, insipid, featureless unity. Favorinus, Herodes Atticus, Marcus Aurelius prefer Greek to Latin as a channel of expression. The effort to form a new Latin style, which, beginning in the first century A. D., culminated in the prose of Seneca and Tacitus, has exhausted itself, and only the antiquarian impulse retains any life. There is as little notion of forming a genuine literary style, as there is in the nineteenth century of inventing a new form of architecture. The question is not how to say a thing in the best way, but what Cato or Gracchus or Cicero said. To read Fronto or Gellius, one would suppose that no one had written since Horace. The age has no vigour of its own, but builds the sepulchres of the prophets, and waits for inspiration to rise from their dust. Grammar is merely a study of ancient forms, and even advocates in the courts are represented as anxious to air their antiquarian knowledge by puzzling the presiding praetor with obsolete expressions met with in the pages of forgotten authors. Such is the impression of the age in which he lived, presented by a man of cool head, sober judgment, and moral heart, but devoid of imaginative power. Had Gellius been a man of genius, he would, it may easily be supposed, have painted a more vivid and interesting, but not so sober and realistic, a picture.

X.

NONIUS MARCELLUS (I).

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THE name of Nonius Marcellus is associated, in the minds of most persons who have thought it worthy of remembrance at all, with dulness and ignorance. At the same time his work *De Compendiosa Doctrina* is, in its way, of such importance, if only on account of the numerous quotations from ancient Latin authors which it contains, that no student of Latin can afford to ignore it. More than this, it is incontestable that many among the notes of Nonius are of great value in themselves, and many again deserve notice, if not from their intrinsic merit, at least as illustrating a particular phase of philological criticism among the ancients. But it is not only in detail that the *De Compendiosa Doctrina* deserves attention and requires a correct appreciation. Nonius occupies an important position, not only in the history of Latin grammar and criticism, but in that of Latin literature, so far at least as his work can be shown to stand in organic connection with the literary tendencies of the age in which he lived. It is mainly in this light that I propose, in the following remarks, to consider the work which bears his name.

The flourishing province of Africa, an account of which and of its organization is given by Mommsen at the beginning of the eighth volume of the *Corpus Inscriptionum*, contributed,

from the end of the first century A.D. and onwards, many names of mark to the history of Roman literature. Juvenal calls it in his time¹ *nutricula causidicorum*; had he lived two centuries later he might have called it the nurse of professors. It is true that Africa cannot rival Spain in the lustre of her literary renown; she can show no Seneca, or Martial, or Lucan, or Quintilian. To have accomplished as much as this would have been impossible to writers so far removed, in point of time, from the age of the republic and the early empire. But, to say nothing of the Christian authors, Tertullian, Cyprian, Arnobius, Lactantius, and Augustine, Africa produced several men eminent, as eminence went in that age, in science and the higher philological criticism. Caelius Aurelianus, the writer on medicine, was, like Arnobius, a native of Sicca; Fronto, the tutor of Marcus Aurelius, came from Cirta, the scholar and poet Sulpicius Apollinaris from Carthage, Apuleius, the able sophist and devoted student, from Madaura, and Nonius Marcellus from Thubursicum in Numidia. Thus the study of the ancient Roman literature was early domesticated in the province of Africa.

Of Nonius himself we know no more than what is told us by the title of his book and by an inscription found at Thubursicum. The title of the book is *Nonii Marcelli Peripatetici Thubursicensis De Compendiosa Doctrina ad Filium*. The work then is educational, and intended by its author for the benefit of his son, like the metrical treatise of Terentianus Maurus, and the commentary of Tiberius Claudius Donatus on the Aeneid. From the addition *Peripatetici* it would appear that Nonius was a pronounced Peripatetic, just as Apuleius of Madaura in the second century was a pronounced Platonist. The word *Thubursicensis* brings us to the inscription found at Thubursicum, and published first by Renier, and recently by Wilmanns and Mommsen in the eighth volume of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (No. 4878): *Beatissimo sa[eculo d. n.] Constantini Ma[ximi] semper Aug. et [Crispi] et Constantin[i] nobb. Caess.*

¹ 7. 149.

*plateam veterem [omni] lapide spoliatam Nonius Marcellus Hercu-
lius so[lide] constravit [et ther]mas et ce[tera rui]na dilap[sa
aedificia].* The stone belongs then to the year 323 A.D., and Mommsen very naturally identifies Nonius Marcellus Herculus with Nonius the scholar. If we may rest content with a fair probability, we may infer that Nonius, besides being a scholar and the professed adherent of a philosophical school, was a man of some wealth and social standing in his own city. His assumption of the title *Peripateticus* justifies us in concluding further that he was not a Christian; the contents of his book prove that he was an eager student of ancient and classical Latin. He may fairly therefore be classed, for literary purposes, among the non-Christian scholars and antiquarians of the fourth and fifth centuries; with Servius the commentator on Vergil, Macrobius, and the elder Symmachus.

As I have already¹ observed, the work of Nonius contains only a very few quotations from any author later than the Augustan age. It is worth while to trace, so far as is possible, the course of this curious reaction in favour of the past, which is a notable phenomenon in the history of the later Latin literature. Suetonius tells us² that the memory of the ancient writers had perished at Rome by the middle of the first century A.D., though it still survived in the provinces. This fact may have been in great measure due to the success of the Augustan writers, Vergil, Horace, Livy, and Ovid, in the field of literature, and still more in that of education, where Vergil and Horace soon drove out the older poets from the curriculum of study. But a reaction set in during the latter half of the first century, which was favoured partly by the tendencies of literary taste, and partly also by the growth of the science of grammar and criticism. Of the literary tendency we have a suggestive record in the *Dialogus de Oratoribus* of Tacitus, which shows that a large party among the *litterati* of Italy preferred the ancients, meaning by them Cicero, Caesar, Lucretius, and their contemporaries, to the Augustan authors. The way in which Tacitus speaks of the orators of the Cice-

¹ See p. 231.

² *De Illustribus Grammaticis*, 24.

ronian age confirms the already quoted statement of Suetonius: *Nescio an venerint in manus vestras haec vetera, quae in antiquariorum bybliotheceis adhuc manent, ac cum maxime a Muciano colliguntur, ac iam undecim, ut opinor, Actorum libris et tribus Epistularum composita et edita sunt*¹. It is clearly implied that the works of the ancient orators had, until quite recently, lain comparatively neglected in the libraries of the *antiquarii* or lovers of antiquity. Among these apparently we must reckon Mucianus, the able and accomplished, but profligate friend of Vespasian. These speeches were now, however, being edited in an accessible form; a fact which seems to indicate the existence of a revived interest in them in literary circles.

The style of the *Dialogus* of Tacitus, written about 80 A. D., shows that he at that time belonged to the antiquarian party; and the same literary tradition was continued by Quintilian. Meanwhile the critical study of ancient texts was started and considerably furthered by an elder contemporary of Tacitus, M. Valerius Probus of Berytus in Syria, who, if Jerome may be trusted, had won a reputation in Rome as a scholar at about the time when Tacitus was born². The main results of his work were revised texts of ancient writers, notably of Terence, Lucretius, Vergil, and Horace³, with commentaries on some of them, and a *Silva Observationum Sermonis Antiqui*, or collection of observations on ancient usage, a work which, from its title, we may infer to have been of a miscellaneous character.

By the end of the first century A. D. the critical study of the ancient authors had fairly begun. Grammar and orthography were treated by Flavius Caper and Velius Longus in the age of Trajan, and it must have been during the same period that Caesellius Vindex composed his great work entitled *Stromateus* or *Lectiones Antiquae*. This work, of which I shall have more to say below, must, if we may trust its title, have dealt mainly, if

¹ *Dialogus*, 37.

² Jerome to A. D. 56.

³ Suetonius, *De Viris Illustribus*, p. 138 (Reifferscheid).

not entirely, with questions affecting the language of the *antiqui*, or Latin writers from Naevius to Vergil. Caesellius was succeeded and criticized by Terentius Scaurus, of whose treatise on orthography some considerable fragments are preserved. The coincidences between the contents of these fragments and the early chapters of the *Institutio Oratoria*, in which Quintilian touches upon questions of grammar, are so striking that it is impossible to resist the conclusion that both writers are borrowing from the same work or works, which must of course have been at least as old as the first century.

It is probably to Probus, Caesellius Vindex, Terentius Scaurus, Nisus, and Sulpicius Apollinaris, to whom we should perhaps add Varro and Nigidius Figulus, and certainly Verrius Flaccus, that Aulus Gellius is mainly indebted for the fragments of Latin criticism and erudition around which, in the *Noctes Atticae*, he has endeavoured to throw the attraction of popular and literary form. The *Noctes Atticae* of Aulus Gellius present us with the first existing example of a new form of literature. Like Fronto, the tutor of Marcus Aurelius, Gellius is devoted to the study of the *antiqui*. But the kind of study which he gives to them is very different from the rational interest and industry displayed by Probus on the one hand, and Tacitus on the other, in the age of Vespasian. The taste of Gellius is the taste of the antiquarian, whose eye rests exclusively on works of a certain period. There is not a single quotation in Gellius from Lucan, Martial, Statius, Tacitus, or Juvenal. He cites indeed some of his own contemporaries, but with this exception, I think that Vergil and Horace are the latest authors whom he quotes. His own style too is marked by an affectation of archaism in language, an intentional employment of words many of which perhaps he had only learned to understand from the works of commentators and grammarians. A similar tendency may be perceived in the writings of a far abler and probably more genuinely learned man than Gellius, Lucius Apuleius of Madaura in Numidia. Apuleius, a contemporary of Gellius, is in every

point of view a very striking representative of his age. It is the province of the historian to draw the moral from the vivid pictures of life and manners presented in the *Metamorphoses* and the *De Magia*. But these works also hold a peculiar position in the field of literature. The style of Apuleius, as well as his numerous historical allusions, would, even if we had not his own express testimony in the same direction, betray the fact that he had spent much time and labour, *aerumnabilis labor*¹ as he says himself, on mastering Roman antiquities and literature. It is not too much to say that no one can gain a thorough command of the material necessary for the study of ancient Latin without an intimate acquaintance with Apuleius, whose language has preserved in a living connection many words of whose existence and meaning we should otherwise perhaps have been advertised mainly through the writings of lexicographers and grammarians. His style is a curious monument of great originality and force struggling with a language which has lost half its life and significance.

It is probably a mistake to speak of the manner of Apuleius as peculiarly African. His studies of Latin were, as he himself tells us, carried on mainly at Rome and without a master; what therefore is strained, artificial, and archaic in his style is probably due simply to the intimacy which he acquired with the early writers of Italy. Not that these considerations will explain the whole phenomenon. While much of the language of Apuleius is based on antiquarian study, there is no doubt also a considerable part which represents the living popular Latin current in Africa in his time. It is interesting in this connection to compare his style with that of Tertullian, who was about a generation younger. Tertullian uses many words which are unknown to the classical Latin of Italy; but with all his rhetorical training and bias, and his love of point and antithesis, his style, compared with that of Apuleius, may almost be called popular. The difference between the laboured antiquarianism of the one writer and the comparative directness

¹ *Met.* 1. 1.

and simplicity of the other, is the measure of the difference between the Pagan scholar and philosopher, and the Christian advocate.

For we are now arrived at a point where the presentiment of a great social and religious revolution is beginning to make itself felt in the reading and cultivated society of the Roman empire. The middle and the latter half of the second century is the time at which the controversy between the old and the new religions first begins openly to divide the world of letters, as well as the lower orders of the people. On the one side appear the works of Justin and Minucius Felix, on the other, those of Lucian and Apuleius. The illustrious scholar Jacob Bernays, whose death is an irreparable loss to letters, has in various works, each of which is in its way a monument not only of learning but of art and historical imagination, helped us by clear, massive, and sympathetic drawing to form vivid pictures of several scenes in the great historical drama. The social and moral conflict, parts of which he has described with the hand of a master, extended into the world of antiquarianism and of study. The same passion for a dying past, which in the fourth century led Julian to throw himself, in defence of a hopeless religion, into violent opposition to the pronounced tendencies of the age, helped to inspire the scholars of the second, third, and fourth centuries to study the history, antiquities, and early literature of the great empire to which they owed all the material advantages of their existence. The abler and educated advocates of Christianity, however, some of whom were converts, and had been familiar with the inside of the Pagan position, knew how to draw their advantage from their knowledge of antiquity. While the Pagan *litterati* continued, as if by way of passive protest, simply to collect and con over the relics of the flourishing age of Roman literature, politics, and religion, the Christians, who cared comparatively little for literature and politics, destroyed the Pagan religion with the weapons offered them by the Pagan philosophy. The study of Cicero, Varro, and Verrius Flaccus was a double-edged sword, which could be

turned at pleasure to the advantage or disadvantage of the polytheistic system.

Readers of Minucius Felix, Tertullian, and Arnobius will need no confirmation of this statement. But it is necessary for our present purpose to dwell for a moment on the work of Arnobius *Adversus Nationes*. Its author, whose Christianity is tempered by a curious mixture of toleration for the religion which he has abandoned, seems, like Apuleius, to have given special attention to the classical literature of Italy. His language, abounding in words taken from the ancient comedy, satire, and poetry, must, like that of Apuleius, have been influenced by conscious archaism. It is no mere product of popular Latin preserved in the colonies of Africa. Arnobius has learned to know and to treat with curious and misplaced contempt many of the chief writers of the better ages of Rome, whose works are now lost. And here it is that we come at length into contact with Nonius, who, if we may trust the inscription already quoted, must have been a contemporary, as we know him to have been a countryman, of Arnobius. We have seen that the treatise of Nonius *De Compendiosa Doctrina* was probably intended for educational purposes, consisting as it does of notes on various points of grammar, lexicography, and antiquities. Like the *Noctes Atticæ* of Gellius, from which much of it has (erroneously as I think) been supposed to be borrowed, it is stamped with the character of pedantic antiquarianism. The range of its quotations would lead us to suppose that Nonius thought no writer worth study who lived later than the Augustan age. In this point he out-Herods some even of the scholars of the second century, who do not object to quote Lucan, Persius, and Juvenal. Taken together with the fact that Christianity is persistently ignored throughout the book, and that Nonius styles himself a Peripatetic, I think that this phenomenon justifies us in classing the work of Nonius as a product of the conservative, or I should rather say, reactionary, Roman feeling which meets us again in Macrobius.

The curious contrast between the judgment shown by Nonius

in his choice of authors, and his want of judgment in dealing with them, has made him the butt of scholars, who have not, so far as I know, been at the pains to examine fully the circumstances under which his book was in all probability written. It must be remembered, in the first place, that the text of the *De Compendiosa Doctrina* has come down to us in a very mutilated condition. This is a fact that he who runs may read. It is not merely that many glosses are lost, but that many others have been confused, mutilated, and interpolated, in a way which, unless fortune should make us a present of a better manuscript recension than any now existing, will probably make a true understanding of the whole work impossible. Making all allowances, however, for this external drawback, it cannot be denied that the book contains statements which are inconceivably repugnant to common sense. Here, however, we are brought into contact with a curious phenomenon in the history of ancient Latin scholarship. Whether from want of a true method, or from some other cause or causes, the old Italian learning seems to lose every element of progress after the first or early second centuries after Christ. The grammarians and scholars of the second century seem to have added nothing at once new and true to the mass of knowledge accumulated in the period extending from the Augustan age to the reign of Hadrian. The material of the older Latin language was all before them, but, in common with all the writers of Graeco-Roman antiquity, they were ignorant of those principles of investigation which give life to the past by showing its organic connection with the present. The Latin language was changing, the old literature was passing out of the field of living interest, but, as far as scientific investigation was concerned, they did not know how to take advantage of the fact. There was no alternative; as science could not gain, it lost. Its representatives did nothing but repeat, over and over again, in different forms and applications, the registers made by older scholars, registers which the changes going on in their own time only prevented them from reading aright. Hence even in the scholarship of

the age of the Antonines, as represented by Julius Romanus, Fronto, and Aulus Gellius, we are conscious of shallowness and want of insight, just as in the style of the two last-named authors we are struck by affectation, want of purpose, want of character. Both faults arise from a false attitude with regard to the past.

Of Nonius then, attempting as he did, at the end of the third or beginning of the fourth century, to take up a position which could not be naturally maintained even at the end of the second, what could be expected but the appearance of incapacity? No improvement had been effected in scientific method, but time had gone on and continued its changes, so that Nonius was at a greater distance from the object of his study than Gellius. It can hardly be surprising then that when he ventures to add a remark of his own to the notes which he is transcribing from older scholars, he should reveal the inherent weakness of his position. Scholars who have been allowed a better reputation in the world of letters, respectable commentators such as Aelius Donatus and Servius, were guilty in like manner, and for the same reason, of blunders which would otherwise be incredible.

Having said so much with regard to the position of the work of Nonius in the literary history of its time, let us proceed to describe it, and to discuss the question of the authorities whom he consulted or from whom he transcribed.

As the *De Compendiosa Doctrina* has come down to us, it is arranged in twenty books, of one of which the title alone remains. Of the last or twentieth book only a few notes have survived in our existing manuscripts, and these should again be divided into two separate sets or sections, one of which should be entitled *De Propinquitate*, and the other *De Cognominibus*. Taking the work as we have it, we may classify its various books according to their subjects as follows :

(1) The lexicographical books, including 1 (*De proprietate sermonum*), 2 (*De honestis et nove veterum dictis*), 4 (*De varia significatione sermonum*), 5 (*De differentia similium significa-*

tionum), 6 (*De impropriis*), and much of 12 (*De doctorum indagine*).

(2) The grammatical books: 3 (*De indiscretis generibus*), 7 (*De contrariis generibus verborum*), 8 (*De mutata declinatione*), 9 (*De numeris et casibus*), 10 (*De mutatis coniugationibus*), 11 (*De indiscretis adverbis*), and some of 12 (*De doctorum indagine*).

(3) The antiquarian books, namely, 13–20 (*De genere navigiorum, vestimentorum, vasorum, vel poculorum, calciamentorum, De colore vestimentorum, De genere ciborum et potuum, De genere armorum, De propinquitate*).

The method on which we must chiefly rely for discovering the authorities followed by Nonius in the various sections of his work is that of comparing, so far as is possible, his notes with those of commentators and other lexicographers and grammarians. Nonius himself gives us no hint whatever to guide us in the investigation; but a great number of his observations are found in the works of other writers before and after him, sometimes with the names of the scholars to whom they are ultimately to be referred. Thus, by a comparison of the grammatical books of Nonius with the corresponding sections of Charisius and Priscian, it may be shown, almost with certainty, that he is largely, if not entirely, indebted to Probus, Caper, and Pliny, or at least to works directly dependent upon the writings of these scholars. This part of the subject I have already discussed in the essays prefixed to the first volume of Conington's *Virgil* (4th edition), and may therefore pass on to the subject of the lexicographical and antiquarian books.

The first book, *De Proprietate Sermonum*, or on the meaning of words, is strictly lexicographical. Its arrangement, as we now have it, defies any consistent theory, and nothing is left for us therefore but to state the facts. The first point which has been noticed by all scholars who have recently dealt with the question, is that this book consists of words arranged on the whole in series, each of which is distinguished by having a quotation or quotations from some one author placed at the head of the rest.

Thus in the series extending from *hostimentum* (p. 4) to *examussim* (p. 9) every note begins with a citation from Plautus. Besides this it is also to be noticed that in each series, as a rule, the works of the author whose name stands at the head of each note are quoted in some intelligible order. In a Plautine series, for instance, the plays of Plautus are quoted in alphabetical order, in a Lucilian series the books of Lucilius are quoted in numerical order.

I have shown, in my first essay on Verrius Flaccus, that this method of arrangement is not peculiar to Nonius, but is found also in Varro *De Lingua Latina*, in Verrius Flaccus, in Julius Romanus, and in Macrobius.

But there are also signs of a rough alphabetical arrangement in many of the sets of words treated in this book. These alphabetical series sometimes coincide exactly with the series according to authors, sometimes they are included in them, sometimes they cross them. Instances of the two series exactly coinciding are to be found p. 20, *clepo corporo circus medicina* (Accius); p. 30, *antes camera dirus exordium inops* (Vergil); of one series included in the other p. 6, *calvitur frigere (de) floccare (de) pexum sartor sentina tricae*, which are included in a Plautine series; p. 18, *centuriatim rumen rudus rutrum tenebrio trua (e) vannare vafrum*, which are included in a series from Pomponius; of one series being crossed by another p. 38, *combibo capital clandestino idiotas expirare eliminare incoxare*, where the end of a Lucilian series is continued by one from Pomponius. On p. 39 in an alphabetical series, *ordior pilare popolare rabere supersedere tintinnire verminari*, the arrangement according to authors is given up altogether.

The second book, *De Honestis et Nove Veterum Dictis*, or on words used by the ancients either in a good sense or in an unusual manner, differs both in form and substance from the first. It observes the method of arrangement according to authors, but this is made also to fit in with a strictly alphabetical order. And its purport is not merely to explain the meaning of words, but to point out peculiarities in ancient usage

and differences between ancient and modern form. While for instance on p. 74 we have a purely explanatory note on the word *averruncare*, we have notes on the same page explaining that *apis* was used by Lucilius for *adipisci* and *accepso* by Pacuvius for *accepero*. It should further be remarked that the number of quotations given under each word is, as a general rule, much smaller than in the first book, though some words are very fully illustrated.

The fourth book, *De Varia Significatione Sermonum*, or on the different meanings which may be attached to the same words, differs again from both the first and the third. In its alphabetical arrangement it resembles the latter, but it differs from both in the immense number of quotations from Vergil which it contains. A verse of Vergil's is constantly found at the head of each article, and, if not at the head, is almost certain to occur somewhere in it. In the first book, on the contrary, the quotations from Vergil are comparatively rare in proportion to the rest, and in the second very rare indeed. Further, the object of the fourth book is to set out in detail the various meanings which the same word may have. As this is generally done with great fullness and a great number of instances, it follows that the number of words treated in each section is comparatively small. Even so, however, the fourth book contains nearly two hundred pages, or not much less than a third part of the existing remains of the whole treatise.

The fifth book, *De Differentia Similium Significationum*, or on synonymes, form the natural complement to the fourth. It is not arranged alphabetically, but (on the whole) according to authors. As in the fourth book, Vergil is largely quoted. Precisely the same remarks apply to the sixth book, *De Impropriis*, or on metaphorical expressions.

The twelfth book, *De Doctorum Indagine* (a selection from the researches of scholars), is a mere miscellany of remarks on grammar and lexicography, in which it is difficult to discover any principle, even that of arrangement according to authors not being strictly adhered to, though there are in several instances traces of it,

What *data* are there to help us in trying to discover the authorities followed by Nonius in this part of his work?

I need not recapitulate the arguments by which in my second essay on Verrius Flaccus I endeavoured to show that Nonius did not borrow from Aulus Gellius. But it is necessary to say a word on the hypothesis which finds favour with most scholars who have recently treated the subject, that Nonius had before him commentaries on the authors whom he quotes, and that his work is a series of extracts from these commentaries thrown together by him into loose order. The main support of this theory is the arrangement according to authors which meets us so often in Nonius. I have tried in speaking of Verrius Flaccus to show that Nonius might easily have found this arrangement existing in the works on grammar and lexicography which he would be likely to consult, and therefore that taken by itself the fact in question proves little or nothing. But again, if Nonius was merely making excerpts from commentaries, we should have expected one of two results. Either the whole lexicographical part of his work would have been a mere miscellany, in which there would have been no sign of cohesion beyond the fact that the same authors were quoted on the same series of pages, or some other and uniform method of arrangement would have been adopted. But what as a fact do we find? That we have five books of a lexicographic character, three of which (4, 5, and 6) seem to stand in a logical relation to one another, while the other two are written for purposes quite distinct indeed and differing from those of the three first mentioned, yet not so distinct but that the same note may be repeated in each set in a slightly varying form, and (which is surely important) without any hint of the fact. Such an entire want of homogeneousness is surely most easily explained by the supposition that the first and second books are wholly or partially derived from separate manuals or *compendia*, and that a separate work was the source of the fourth, fifth, and sixth. This hypothesis agrees very well with what we know of other ancient works more or less similar to the *De Compendiosa*

Doctrina of Nonius, as, for instance, of much in the grammatical treatises both of Charisius and of Priscian. Again, had Nonius really consulted the ancient commentaries, it is difficult to suppose that he could have been guilty of the numerous absurdities which have made his name proverbial among scholars. Another difficulty has occurred to me, on which, however, I do not lay so much stress. In the first and second books several of the series headed by quotations from ancient writers, such as Plautus and Lucilius, are terminated by quotations from Vergil¹. This fact surely tells against the theory that in these cases at least Nonius was consulting any of the older commentators on the ancient poets. None, for instance, of the known commentators on Plautus, with the exception of Terentius Scaurus, lived late enough to have quoted Vergil; and in the case of Lucilius we know of no regular commentary later than that of Curtius Nicia in the Ciceronian age.

The most natural supposition with regard to Nonius is in my opinion that his authorities are mainly the works of the scholars and antiquarians of the period which extends from the reigns of Nero and Vespasian to those of Trajan and Hadrian. All internal evidence points this way, and there is also some external evidence which, without being decisive, is worth putting together.

We know to a certain extent that writers on Roman antiquities and philology were read or consulted in Africa in the third and fourth centuries. Tertullian (*De Spectaculis*, 5) expressly mentions Suetonius as one of his authorities on the subject of games. On civil and religious antiquities it is abundantly clear that Varro must have furnished a great deal of information to Arnobius. But Arnobius shows also that he had paid attention to grammar and philology, and does not leave us altogether in the dark as to the authors whose works were read in his age and country. Taunting² his Pagan adversaries with their uncertainty on matters of grammar, 'You do not know,' he cries, 'whether it is right to say *haec utria* or *hos utres, caelus* or

¹ E. g. p. 6, *exercitum*, Plautus, Lucretius, Afranius, Vergilius. P. 14, *extorris*, Accius, Turpilius, Sallustius, Vergilius; and more might be quoted.

² I. 59.

caelum, *pilleus* or *pilleum*, *crocus* or *crocum*, *fretus* or *fretum*, *pane* or *panis*, *sanguis* or *sanguen*, *candelaber* and *iugulus* or *candelabrum* and *iugulum*, and from this uncertainty in such and similar matters you are not free, although you know by heart all the Epicadi, Caesellii, Verrii, Scauri, and Nisi.' Here then is distinct evidence that the works, or some of them, of Epicadus, Caesellius, Verrius, Scaurus, and Nisus were current among students of Latin philology at the beginning of the fourth century A.D.

Let us see how this fact bears upon the question of the authorities consulted by Nonius. There are some traces of the fact that he and Arnobius were familiar with the same or at least with similar manuals; thus these very words which Arnobius quotes as of doubtful gender are all found (with the exception of *iugulus*) in the third book of Nonius *De Indiscretis Generibus*; and again in the twenty-third chapter of his second book Arnobius, in his rhetorical manner, recites long lists of articles of dress and furniture which remind the reader of the fourteenth and fifteenth books of Nonius. That Arnobius was familiar with the *De Verborum Significatu* of Verrius Flaccus, or at least that he occasionally consulted it, is rendered almost certain by his remarks in 7. 24 on *offa penita*, *polimina*, *caro strebula*, and *ruma*¹, which correspond almost verbally with notes preserved by Festus. Much of the first and of the later books of Nonius is undoubtedly to be referred ultimately to Verrius. Epicadus, a scholar of the Sullan era, is known to have written a work *De Cognominibus*, but there is no certain evidence of this book having been known either to Nonius or Arnobius. Nor can we say whether Nonius was at all indebted to Nisus or Terentius Scaurus, for of Nisus very little remains, and of Scaurus nothing which brings him into relation with Nonius.

Of Caesellius Vindex there is, fortunately, more to be said. He was a scholar of the age of Trajan, and the author of a work called *Lectiones Antiquae* or *Stromateus*. From Charisius (p. 195 Keil) we know that this treatise contained at least fifty *libri*, which, as Julius Romanus informs us (ap. Charis. p. 117),

¹ See Festus, pp. 234, 242, 271, 313.

were arranged alphabetically, some letters including more than one *liber*. Caesellius Vindex is quoted by Gellius, 2. 16. 5, on the meaning of the words *postumus* and *longaevus* in Aeneid 6; 3. 16. 11, on *Morta* in Livius Andronicus; 11. 15. 2, on the termination *-bundus* in *errabundus*, *ludibundus* and the like; 20. 2. 2, on the word *siticines*. Some remarks of Caesellius on points of grammar are preserved by Priscian, 1. pp. 210, 230, and by Julius Romanus (Charisius, pp. 117 and 239).

If these scanty indications warrant us in inferring anything, they would seem to show that the *Lectiones Antiquae* of Caesellius, if not a lexicographical work, included much lexicographical information together with notes on points of grammar, illustrated, as its title would lead us to expect, from ancient authors. There is no direct evidence that Nonius consulted the work of Caesellius. The first book of Nonius must indeed, I think, be quite independent of it; for the note on *siticines* on p. 54 corresponds exactly with that in Gellius, 20. 2, and comes apparently from Ateius Capito. There is, however, a point which brings the second and the eighth books of Nonius into relation with Caesellius. Gellius, 11. 15, mentions that Caesellius erroneously supposed adjectives in *-bundus*, such as *errabundus*, *ludibundus*, and the like, to be equivalent to present participles. This doctrine, which is also repudiated by Diomedes (p. 402 K.) or his authority, is affirmed five times by Nonius, three times in the second book (pp. 103, 122, 186), and twice in the eighth (pp. 491, 509).

Besides the *Lectiones Antiquae* of Caesellius Vindex, the only great work likely to have contained lexicographical matter that we know of, as having been compiled subsequently to the *De Verborum Significatu* of Verrius Flaccus, was the *Pratum* of Suetonius. This work we know to have been long used as a work of reference on points of antiquities, and there are fair grounds for supposing that much of the information contained in the latter or antiquarian books of Nonius came either from it or from Verrius Flaccus¹. Another very important work, which un-

¹ Nonius, lib. 13, *De Genere Navigiorum*, has seventeen notes, which correspond on the one hand with the list in Gellius, 10. 25, on the other with remarks in Isidore, 19. 1. A few (*corbita*, *myoparo*, *codicariae*, *cumba*,

doubtedly contained much information on points of grammar and usage, was the *Silva Observationum Sermonis Antiqui* of Valerius Probus. Whether this work contained lexicographical matter as well it is impossible to say; but I suspect that Gellius owed a great deal to it, and it is not impossible that the fourth, fifth, and sixth books of Nonius, which evidently are based on the work of a great student of Vergil, are to be traced directly or indirectly to Probus. But however the case may stand with regard to this or that particular work of reference, I have little doubt that the authorities of Nonius are in the main the same as those of Gellius, and therefore, at least, include handbooks based upon the works of Verrius Flaccus, Caesellius Vindex, Probus, and Suetonius. That a number of such handbooks existed in the second century we know from the express testimony of Gellius himself, quoted on p. 248.

It is due to the scholars whose opinions I endeavoured to controvert in my two essays on Verrius Flaccus that I should exhibit in all possible detail the evidence on which I have based my own conclusions. I have therefore written out all the passages in the first book of Nonius to which parallels can be adduced either from Verrius Flaccus or from later commentators and grammarians, hoping to deal on a future occasion with the other lexicographical and antiquarian books in a similar manner. The facts, so far as I have been able to collect them, will thus be in possession of the reader, who will draw his own inferences from them.

prosumia) correspond with notes in Paulus and Festus. Book 14 is *De Genere Vestimentorum*. It has much in common with Isidore (19. 22 foll.). Most of the words glossed by Nonius are to be found in Isidore, though the latter is sometimes quite independent of Nonius; and several of Nonius's words again are to be found in Paulus and Festus. Of Book 15 (*De Genere Vasorum vel Poculorum*) it may be said that most of its words are in Isidore (20. 6 foll.) and several in Paulus. The seventeenth book (*De Colore Vestimentorum*) does not correspond so nearly with the corresponding sections in Isidore (19. 3 foll.). The glosses in the nineteenth book may be to a great extent paralleled by notes in the eighteenth book of Isidore and in Paulus and Festus. It is on many grounds probable that the source of this part of Isidore's *Origines* was the *Pratum* of Suetonius, and it is therefore not unreasonable to assume that the same was the case with the corresponding parts of Nonius.

NONIUS MARCELLUS (2).

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BOOK I.

[All notes with the initials J. H. O., as well as all notes of readings from the Harleian manuscript, I owe to my friend Mr. J. H. Onions of Christ Church. In the references to Paulus or Festus and Placidus, the numbers indicate the pages in Müller's and Deuerling's editions respectively.—H. N.]

P. 1. WITH this note on *senium*, the illustrations of which commence with a quotation from Caecilius, comp. Festus, 339, *senium a senili acerbitate ac vitiis dictum posuit Caecilius in Hymnide*, 'sine suam senectutem ducat usque ad senium Sorbilo.'

P. 3. *Velitatio* stands at the head of a series of words illustrated from Plautus. *Advelitatio* in Paulus, 28, occurs also in a Plautine series, and *velitatio* is illustrated by Paulus, 369, by the same passage from the *Menaechmi* as that cited by Nonius.

Phrygionis. With the note of Nonius compare Isidore, 19. 22. 22, *acupicta vestis . . . eadem et Phrygia: huius enim artis periti Phrygii omnes dicuntur, sive quia inventa est in Phrygia. Unde et artifices qui id faciunt Phrygiones dicuntur. Vergilius, 'Phrygiam chlamydem.'* Serv. A. 3. 484, *Phrygiam chlamydem aut acu pictam, huius enim artis peritos Phrygiones dicimus secundum Plautum, in Phrygia enim inventa est haec ars, aut, etc.* So Servius, A. 9. 614. I wish to emphasize the words *secundum Plautum*, as the note of Nonius is illustrated by a quotation from Plautus among others, a fact which may point to a community of sources for the notes of Nonius, Servius, and Isidore.

Hostimentum est aequamentum, unde et hostes dicti sunt, qui ex aequa causa pugnam ineunt. Plautus . . . Compare Festus, 102, *hostimentum beneficii pensatio*, Placidus, 12, *hostiae autem aequae*,

ab hostimento, i. e. aequamento; Servius, A. 2. 156 (Dan.) *hostia vero victima . . . unde hostimentum aequationem*. One of the passages from Plautus quoted by Nonius is also cited by Servius, A. 4. 124, on the word *hostis*. With these passages should also be compared the fuller note of Festus, 270, *redhostire, referre gratiam*; Novius *in Lupo, Accius . . . nam et hostire pro aequare posuerunt*, Ennius *in Cresphonte, 'audi, atque auditis hostimentum adiungito,'* etc.

P. 4. The note on *capulum* should be compared with Paulus, 61, and Servius, A. 6. 222, who quotes the same passage from the *Miles* of Plautus.

P. 5. *Temulenta est ebriosa, dicta a temeto, quod est vinum, quod attemptet*. Plautus *Aulularia . . .* Festus, 364, on *temetum* quotes the same line from the *Aulularia*. Compare further Gellius, 10. 23. 1, Donatus Andr. 1. 4. 2, Placidus, 83, Isid. 10. 271.

P. 6. *Exercitum dicitur fatigatum*. Plautus, Sallust, etc. Paulus, 81, *exercitus et militum copia dicitur, et homo multis negotiis exercitus*.

Pellices a Graeco vocabulo . . . quasi πάλλαξ, etc. Compare Gellius, 4. 3. 3, who quotes a *lex Numae* in illustration. The note may come from Verrius Flaccus, for Paulus, 222, has the same quotation.

Calvitur dictum est frustratur, etc. The word is quoted from the Twelve Tables by Festus, 313. Eutyches (p. 485 Keil) quotes the same passage from Sallust as Nonius, but more fully.

P. 8. *Nautea*. The gloss in Nonius is illustrated by quotations from Plautus, and so is that of Paulus, 165, on the same word. Compare also Placidus, 68, *nautea, aqua coriis foetida, in qua corium maceratur*.

Caperrare est rugis frontem contrahere et asperare, tractum a caprorum frontibus crispis. Plautus *Epidico . . . Varro Eumenidibus, 'quin mihi caperratam tuam frontem, Strobile, omittis.'* The last quotation may have been given by Verrius, and suggested the form of the gloss in Paulus, 48, *caperratum, rugosum, a cornuum caprinorum similitudine dicitur*. Comp. Placidus, 29.

P. 9. *Examussim dicitur examine ad regulam vel coagmentum* :

est enim amussis regula fabrorum, quam architecti, cum opus probant, rubrica inlinunt. Plautus—Varro . . . The substance of this gloss is the same as that of the note of Sisenna quoted by Charisius, p. 198; but it may have come to Nonius through Verrius Flaccus. Paulus, 80, *examussim, regulariter; amussis enim regula fabrorum est, vel ut alii volunt ferramentum quo in poliendo utuntur.* The same note recurs in Placidus, 12 and 37.

Mutus onomatopoea est incertae vocis, quasi mugitus. Isidore, 10. 169, *mutus eo quod ei vox non est nec sermo nisi mugitus.*

Focula dicta sunt nutrimenta: unde et foculare dicitur, ut fovere. Plautus *Persa* . . . Paulus, 85, *focus fomenta focillationes foci a fovendo, id est calefaciendo, dicta sunt.* Comp. Servius (Dan.). A. 11. 211, Servius, A. 12. 118 = Isidore, 20. 10. 1.

P. 10. *Bardum est vi propria ingenio tardum. Nam Graeci βαρδῆς tardos dicebant.* Homerus . . . Plautus . . . Paulus, 34, *bardus, stultus, a tarditate ingenii appellatur.* Caecilius ‘*audacem nimisque bardum barbarum.*’ *Trahitur autem a Graeco, quod illi βαρδὺς dicunt.* Compare Placidus, 14.

Inlex et exlex est qui sine lege vivit. Plautus . . . Lucilius . . . Varro . . . Caecilius . . . Sisenna. Paulus, 113, *inlex producta sequenti syllaba significat qui legi non paret. Inlex correpta sequenti syllaba significat inductor, ab inliciendo.* Plautus ‘*Esca est meretrix, pectus inlex.*’ Nonius, 447, makes this distinction between *inlex* and *inlix*, illustrating from Plautus.

Lurcones disti sunt a lurcando; lurcare est cum aviditate cibum sumere. Lucilius . . . Pomponius . . . Plautus . . . Varro. Paulus, 120, *lura os cullei vel etiam utris, unde lurcones capacis gulae homines et bonorum suorum consumptores.*

P. 11. *Concenturiare est colligere, dictum a centuriis quae ad suffragia conveniebant.* Plautus . . . Terentius . . . Placidus, 27, *concenturiat, instruit, ordinat; dictum a centurionibus qui milites ordinant.*

P. 12. *Exsules dicuntur extra solum.* Vergilius . . . So Terentius Scaurus, p. 28 (Keil), Servius, A. 3. 11, Placidus, 39, Isidore, 5. 27. 28.

P. 13. *Haustra proprie dicuntur rotarum cadi, ab hauriando;*

sicuti Graece ἀντλία. Lucretius, *lib. 5*, 'ut fluvios versare rotas atque haustra videmus.' Isidore, 20. 15. 1, s. v. *rota*, seems to have followed the same authority as Nonius; after quoting the same line of Lucretius, he says *haustra autem, i. e. rota, ab hau-rienda aqua dicta.*

Veterina animalia dicuntur omnia quae vehere quid possunt. Lucretius . . . Paulus, 369, *veterinam bestiam Cato appellavit a vehendo*, etc.

Crepera res proprie dicitur dubia, unde et crepusculum dicitur lux dubia, et senes decrepiti dicti, in dubio vitae constituti. Creperum bellum, anceps et dubium. Lucretius . . . Accius . . . Lucilius . . . Pacuvius . . . Plautus . . . Varro . . . The same explanation, and the same reference to *crepusculum* and *decrepiti*, may be found in Paulus, 52. 71. Compare Varro, L. L. 6. 5; 7. 77, Servius, A. 2. 268, Placidus, 24, Isidore, 5. 31. 7; 10. 74.

P. 14. *Vitulantes veteres gaudentes dixerunt, dictum a bonae vitae commodo; sicuti nunc qui est in summa laetitia, vivere eum dicimus.* Naevius *Lycurgo*, 'ut in venatu vitulantes ex suis,' etc. The derivation given by Paulus, 369 (it does not follow that he has preserved the real opinion of Verrius), is from *vitulus*, though in the line which he quotes from Ennius, *is habet coronam vitulans victoria*, the first syllable is long. Varro, L. L. 7. 107, who also quotes Naevius, derives from *vitula*.

P. 15. *Grumus dicitur agger, a congerie dictus.* Accius *Oenomaos*. Paulus, 96, *grumus terrae collectio, minor tumulo.*

Torrus. Quoted by Servius, A. 12. 298, as used by Ennius and Pacuvius.

P. 16. *Expectorare est extra pectus eicere.* Accius . . . Ennius. Paulus, 80, *expectorat, ex pectore eicit.* Quintilian, 8. 3. 31, *veteres ne expectorat quidem timuerunt, et sane eiusdem notae est exanimat.* Quintilian, and perhaps Verrius, may have been referring to the line of Ennius quoted by Nonius, *tum pavor sapientiam omnem mi exanimato expectorat.*

Lactare est inducere vel mulcere, velle decipere. Accius . . . Pacuvius . . . Caecilius . . . Varro . . . Cicero. Paulus, 117, *lactit, in fraudem inducit. Inde est allicere et lacessere, inde lactat illectat*

delectat oblectat. Donatus *Andr.* 4. 1. 24, *lactasses pro duxisses, oblectasses, induxisses . . . unde et oblectare dicitur.* Placidus, 59, *lactatus, inductus, captus.*

P. 17. The notes on *strena* and *adulatio* may be compared, but only generally, with those in Festus, 313, Paulus, 21.

Manducones, qui et manduci sunt et mandones, edaces. Pomponius . . . Lucilius . . . Varro. Paulus, 128, *manduci effigies in pompa antiquorum inter ceteras ridiculas formidolosasque ire solebat magnis malis ac late dehiscens, et ingentem dentibus sonitum faciens, de quo Plautus ait 'quid si ad ludos me pro manduco locem,' etc.* So Placidus, 68.

Exdorsuare, dorso nudare. Plautus *Aulularia*, 'Tu, Machaerio, *Congrum, murenam exdorsua, quantum potes.*' Paulus, 79, *exdorsua, dorsum confringe: alii nudare.* Placidus, p. 41, has a note, now corrupt, on *exdorsuandum.*

P. 18. *Delirare.* Compare Isidore, 10. 78, s. v. *delirus.* *Rumen dicitur locus in ventre quo cibus sumitur, et unde redditur; unde et ruminare dicitur.* Pomponius *Prostibulo* . . . Paulus, 270, *rumen est pars colli qua esca devoratur, unde rumare dicitur quod nunc ruminare.* Comp. Donatus, *Ad.* 5. 8. 27, Servius, *A.* 1. 178; 8. 90, Isidore, 11. 1. 59.

Rutrum dicitur a radendo. (Is not Mercier right in conjecturing *ruendo*?). Pomponius . . . Lucilius . . . Varro. Paulus, 263, *rutrum dictum quod eo harena eruitur.*

Nebulones et tenebriones dicti sunt qui mendaciis et astutiis suis nebulam quandam ac tenebras obiciant; aut quibus ad fugam et furta haec erant accommodata et utilia. Pomponius . . . Lucilius . . . Afranius . . . Varro. Festus, 165, *nebulo dictus est, ut ait Aelius Stilo, qui non pluris est quam nebula, aut quia non facile perspici possit qualis sit.* Donatus *Eun.* 2. 2. 38, *nebulonem, vel furem, quia nebulas obiciat, vel mollem ut nebulam, vel inanem et vanum, ut nebula est.* Comp. Acron on Horace, *Epist.* 1. 2. 28.

P. 19. *Truam veteres a terendo, quam nos deminutive trullam dicimus, appellari voluerunt.* Pomponius *Pannuceatis* . . . Titinius *Setina* . . . 'cocus magnum ahenum, quando fervit, paula confutat trua.' It is difficult to resist the impression that the

note of Paulus, 9 (*truam quoque vocant quo permovent coquentes exta*), was based on the line of Titinius.

P. 20. *Corporare est interficere, et quasi corpus solum sine anima relinquere.* Ennius . . . Accius . . . Placidus, 29, *corporato, vulnerato.*

P. 21. *Cernuus dicitur proprie inclinatus, quasi quod terram cernat.* Lucilius . . . Vergilius . . . Varro *de Vita, P. R. lib. 1.* . . . Servius, A. 10. 894, *cernuus dicitur equus qui cadit in faciem, quasi in eam partem qua cernimus. Unde et pueri quos in ludis videmus ea parte qua cernunt stantes cernuli vocantur, ut etiam Varro in Ludis Theatralibus docet.*

Stricturae dicuntur proprie scintillae quae de ferro ferventi eunt, aut quod stricte emittuntur, id est celeriter, aut quod oculis sui fulgore praestringant. Vergilius . . . Lucilius . . . The latter derivation is given by Pliny, 34. 143, who is copied by Isidore, 16. 21. 3. [In 19. 10. 1, Isidore gives a different etymology. J. H. O.]

Quiritare est clamare, tractum ab iis qui Quirites invocant. Lucilius . . . Nigidius . . . Donatus *Ad. 2. 1. 1, veteres quiritari dicebant Quirites conclamare.*

Caries est vetustas vel putrilago; unde cariceum veteres dixerunt. Lucilius . . . Turpilius . . . Afranius. Placidus, 21, s. v. *cariosus.* Isidore, 17. 6. 28, *caries putredo lignorum, etc.*

P. 22. *Capronae dicuntur comae quae ante frontem sunt, quasi a capite pronae.* Lucilius. Paulus, 48, *capronae equarum iubae in frontem devexae, dictae quasi a capite pronae.* Placidus, 26, *capronas, iubas equorum.*

*Gliscit, vel crescit, vel ignescit*¹. Turpilius . . . Accius . . . Pacuvius . . . Sallustius . . . Vergilius . . . Cicero. Paulus, 98, *gliscere crescere est: comp. Festus, 278, s. v. reglescit.* Servius, A. 12. 9, *gliscit crescit . . . [Veteres gliscit incremento ignis ponebant, etc.]*

P. 23. *Sagae mulieres dicuntur feminarum ad libidinem viro-*

¹ The MSS. give *gliscit est congelascit et colligitur, vel crescit, etc.* Probably two glosses are confused, *gelescit congelascit vel colligitur.* *Gliscit crescit, etc.*

rum indagatrices, unde et sagaces canes dicuntur ferarum vel animalium quaesitores. Lucilius . . . Turpilius. Festus, 321, sagaces appellantur multi ac sollertis acuminis. Afranius in Brundisina . . . Lucretius lib. 2 . . . Sagacem etiam canem dixit, 'invictus canis atque sagax et viribus fretus.' Saga quoque dicitur mulier perita sacrorum, et sagus sapiens, producta prima syllaba, forsitan propter ambiguitatem evitandam.

Lapit significat obdurefacit, et lapidem facit. Pacuvius Periboea, 'lapit cor cura, aerumna corpus conficit.' Paulus, 118, lapit, dolore adficit.

Munes apud veteres dicebantur . . . consentientes ad ea quae amici velint. Pacuvius Duloreste . . . Sallustius . . . Lucilius. Paulus, 143, munem significare certum est officiosum, unde e contrario immunis dicitur qui nullo fungitur officio: comp. Serv. A. 12. 559, Nonius, 137, s. v. munia, Plautus Mercatore, 'dico eius pro meritis gratum me ac munem fore.'

Petulantia dicta est a petendo. M. Tullius de Republica lib. 4. Festus, 206, petulantes et petulci etiam appellantur qui protervo impetu et crebro petunt laedendi alterius gratia. Vergilius . . . Lucretius . . . Afranius. Comp. Servius, G. 4. 10 (= Isidore 10. 231), and Isidore, 10. 213.

Procacitas a procando vel poscendo: unde et proci dicti sunt matrimoniorum petitores . . . Cicero . . . Terentius . . . Livius Andronicus. Paulus, 224, procare poscere, unde procaces meretrices ab adsidue procando, et proci uxorem poscentes in matrimonium. So again 225, 249. Comp. Donatus, Hec. 1. 2. 84, Servius, A. 1. 536, Placidus, 76, Isidore, 10. 214.

Kalendarum vocabulum proprium Varro complexus est. De Vita P. R. lib. 1, 'Itaque kalendis kalabantur, id est vocabantur, et ab eo kalendae appellatae, quod est tractum a Graecis, qui καλεῖν vocare dixerunt. Paulus, 225, procalare provocare, ex Graeco καλεῖν, i. e. voco: unde kalendae calumnia et caculae et calatores. Compare Servius, A. 8. 654, on curia Calabra.

P. 24. Ignominia est nominis nota. M. Tullius de Republica lib. 4 . . . Lucilius. Isidore, 5. 27. 25, ignominia eo quod desinat habere honestatis nomen is qui in aliquo crimine deprehen-

ditur. Dicta autem est ignominia quasi sine nomine, sicut ignarus sine scientia, sicut ignobilis sine nobilitate.

Fidei proprietatem exemplo manifestavit M. Tullius de Republica lib. 4, 'fides enim nomen ipsum mihi videtur habere cum fit quod dicitur.' Isidore, 5. 24. 17, *nam fides dicta eo quod fiat. 10. 98, fidelis pro eo quod ab eo fit id quod dicit.*

P. 25. *Seditionis proprietates a M. Tullio manifestatae est in libro de Republica iv, 'eaque dissensio civium, quod seorsum eunt alii ad alios, seditio dicitur.'* The same note, illustrated by the same quotation, is given by Servius (Dan.), A. 1. 149, Isidore, 5. 26. 11.

Catax dicitur quem nunc coxonem vocant. Lucilius . . . Paulus, 45, catax, claudus. Gloss. Amplon. p. 285, cadax, a coxâ claudus.

Silones superciliis prominentibus dicti, significatione manifesta. Varro γῶθι σεαυτόν . . . I have argued, in the Transactions of the Oxford Philological Society (1879-1880), that silones ought to be corrected into cilones. C and s are constantly confused in manuscripts, and notably so in the Harleian MS. of Nonius. I do not see how silo can mean a man with prominent eyebrows. If cilones be right, compare Paulus, 43, chilo dicitur cognomento a magnitudine laborum; cilo sine aspiratione, cui frons est eminentior, ac dextra sinistraque veluti recisa videtur. See further Caper Orth. p. 97, Keil, and Placidus, 25.

Compernes dicuntur longis pedibus. Lucilius . . . Better Paulus, 41, compernes nominantur homines genibus plus iusto coniunctis.

P. 26. *Lingulacae dicuntur verbosi. Varro Papia papae . . . Paulus, 117, lingulaca genus piscis, vel mulier argutatrix.*

Rabulae litigiosi, a rabie dicti. Varro Papia papae . . . Paulus, 272, rabula dicitur in multis intentus negotiis peritusque ad radendum (rapiendum?) quid auferendumque, vel quia est in negotiis agendis acrior, quasi rabiosus.

P. 27. *Strabones sunt strabi quos nunc dicimus. Varro Flaxtabulis, περὶ ἐπαρχιδῶν, 'multi enim, qui limina intrarunt integris oculis, strabones sunt facti' . . . Lucilius . . . Compare Pliny, 11. 150, Acron and Porphyrio on Horace S. 1. 3. 44.*

Exterminatum est praeter terminos missum. Lucilius . . . Cicero. Isidore, 10. 87, *exterminatus ab eo quod sit extra terminos suos eiectus.*

Exodium est finis, a Graeco tractum, quasi ἔξω τῆς ὁδοῦ, etc. Illustrated by three quotations from Varro's *Saturae*, in two of which the phrase *ad exodium* occurs. Paulus, 80, *exodium, exitum*; Placidus, 9, *ad exodium, ad finem vel terminum.* [In the first example from Varro the Harleian MS. has *κῶνειον, exodium*; should we not read *κῶνειον ad exodium*? J. H. O.]

Putus est dictus a putando (so the Harleian manuscript). Plautus *Pseudolo, purus putus est ipsus.* Varro *Hecatombē . . . Prometheo . . . Nam et rationes ea causa putari dictae sunt quotiens ex his fraudis aut falsi aut mendacii aut iniqui aliquid separatur. Et ipsum namque dubitantes cum dicimus puto, significamus nos in rebus incertis et obscuris falsis opinionibus fieri ambiguos.* This is a test passage as bearing on the relation between Gellius and Nonius. Gellius, 7. 5, discusses the words *putus* and *putare*, mainly in reference to the phrase *argenti puri puti* occurring in an ancient treaty between Rome and Carthage. He quotes the phrase also from the *Alexander* of Ennius, and the *δὲ παῖδες οἱ γέροντες* of Varro. The gist of the notes in Gellius and Nonius is much the same, but in the instances he quotes Nonius is entirely independent of Gellius. The common authority may well have been Verrius Flaccus, for Paulus and Festus (216, 217) have the following note: *putus antiqui dicebant pro puro, unde putatae vites et arbores, quod decisis impedimentis remanerent purae. Aurum quoque putatum dici solet, id est expurgatum, et ratio putata, id est pura facta.* Instances are given from Ennius and Plautus. It will be observed that the original note of Verrius must have covered the ground occupied both by Gellius and Nonius, in respect both of its statements and its illustrations. The same note, or parts of it, may be found in Paulus, 108, s. v. *imputatum*, Donatus, *And.* 2. 6. 11, *Ad.* 5. 3. 10, Servius (*Dan.*), *A.* 8. 522, and Isidore, 17. 5. 32.

P. 28. *Compedes non a pedibus dictae, sed ab impedimento.* Varro *Prometheo . . . Flaxtabulis . . . Parmenone . . . Ses-*

quiulixe. The theory repudiated by Nonius is represented by Placidus, 16 and Isidore, 5. 27. 7.

Edu lia . . . Afranius *Privigno*. Placidus, 40, *edulia, cibus vel esca, ab edendo dicta*.

P. 29. *Merenda dicitur cibus qui post meridiem datur*. Afranius *Fratris* . . . Paulus, 123, *merendam antiqui dicebant pro prandio, quod scilicet medio die caperetur*. Fuller notes on this word are given by Isidore, 20. 2. 12, 20. 3. 3.

Calces a calcando, quod est nitendo, dictae sunt, non a calci-trando; nam de omnibus pedibus et de hominum et universorum animantium dici potest. Nam sunt calces extrema pars pedum terrae proxima. Vergilius *lib. 5 . . . 10 . . .* Servius, A. 5. 324, *calcem dicimus unde terram calcamus: ergo non proprie dixit calcem calce terit*, etc. Isidore, 11. 1. 114, *calcis prima pars plantae; a callo illi (illo?) nomen impositum quo terram calcamus*, etc.

Pp. 29-30. The notes on *mediocritas* and *modestia* may be paired roughly with those in Isidore, 10. 172. 168.

P. 30. *Antes sunt quadraturae, unde et antae dictae sunt quadrae columnae*. Vergilius *Georgicorum lib. 2*, 'iam canit effectos extremus vinitor antes.' Paulus, 16, *antes sunt extremi ordines vinearum. Unde etiam nomen trahunt antae, quae sunt latera ostiorum*. Comp. Servius and Philargyrius on G. 2. 417.

Camerum, obtortum; unde et camerae, tecta in curvitatem formata. Vergilius *Georgicorum lib. 3*. Paulus, 43, *camera et camuri boves a curvatione ex Graeco καμπή dicuntur*. Comp. Philargyrius, G. 3. 55; Isidore, 15. 8. 5; Macrobius, Sat. 6. 4. 23.

Immunis dicitur sine officio, sine munere. Vergilius *Georgicorum lib. 4 . . .* Cicero *Philippica 1*. Paulus, 109, *immunis, vacans munere, aliquotiens pro improbo ponitur, ut apud Plautum, 'immune est facinus'*. Comp. further Servius, A. 12. 559, Scholia Bobiensia Pro Sest. 57 (p. 306 Orelli), Philargyrius, G. 4. 244, Isidore, 10. 140, notes which are all apparently ultimately to be referred to Verrius Flaccus.

Dirum est triste, infensum, et quasi deorum ira missum. Ver-

gil. . . Cicero *De Senectute*. Paulus, 69, *dirus, dei ira natus*. So Servius, A. 6, 373; Isidore, 10. 75.

Exordium est initium; unde et vestis ordiri dicitur cum instituitur detexenda. Vergil. . . Cicero. . . Lucilius. Festus, 185, *ordiri est rei principium facere, unde et togae vocantur exordia (?)*, Isidore, 19. 29. 7, *ordiri est texere*.

P. 31. *Sudum dictum est quasi semiudum, ut est aer post pluvias serenus et liquidus*. Vergil. . . Plautus. . . Lucilius. Servius, Aen. 8. 529, *sudum est quasi subudum, serenum post pluvias*. . . [*Alii sudum semiudum volunt dici, cum per nubes ad nos perveniat solis ictus non integer*]. Philargyrius, G. 477, *sudum est serenum, subumidum; proprie autem sudum pars serena inter nubes, quasi semiudum*. Festus, 294, *sudum Verrius ait significare sub[udum]*. Sed auctorum omnia exempla poscunt ut su[udus] significet . . . sine udo, ut se[curus sine cura].

Inritare dictum est proprie provocare, tractum a canibus, qui cum provocantur, irriunt. Lucilius. . . Terence. . . Vergil. . . Sallust. . . Plautus. . . Varro. Festus, 101, *hirrire, garrere, quod genus vocis est canis rabiosae*. Donatus, And. 3. 4. 18, *inritatus, commotus, ira provocatus, ut in Phormione*. Ducitur autem verbum a canibus, qui restrictis dentibus hanc litteram R inritantur. Ad. 2. 14. 8, *inritari proprie canes dicuntur*. Lucilius, de littera R, *'inritata canes quod homo quam planius dicit'*. As this line of Lucilius, and a line out of the Phormio, are quoted by Nonius, it is reasonable to suppose that the notes of Donatus and Nonius are derived from the same source.

P. 32. *Arcanum dicitur secretum vel absconditum, quod quae in arca sunt, celata sint et abscondita*. Vergilius, *Aeneidos, lib. 4*. . . lib. 1. Paulus, 16, *arcani sermonis significatio trahitur sive ab arce . . . sive ab arca, in qua quae clausa sint tuta manent, cuius ipsius origo ab arcendo pendet*. Servius, Aen. 1. 262, *arcana secreta*. Unde et arca et arx dictae. Isidore, 20. 9. 2, *arcanum, id est secretum, unde ceteri arcentur*.

Tormina genus morbi, dicti quod dolore torqueat. Cicero, *Tusculanarum lib. 2*. Isidore, 4. 16. 4, *ileos dolor in-*

testinorum . . . Hi et torminosi dicuntur ab intestinorum tormento.

Monumenti proprietatem a monendo M. Tullius exprimendam putavit, ad Caesarem, Epistola 2 . . . Vergilius, lib. 5. Paulus, 139, monere . . . sic monimenta quae in sepulcris. Comp. Servius, Aen. 3. 486; Isid. I. 5. II. I.

Rivales dicti sunt quasi in unum amorem derivantes. Terentius in Eunucho. Donatus, Eun. 5. 8. 42, rivales . . . facta translatione nominis a feris bestiis, quae sitientes cum ex eodem rivulo haustum petunt, in proelium contra se invicem concitantur. Sic Cicero pro Caelio 'sin erit ex eodem fonte rivalis.' Placidus, 79, rivales, qui de uno amore discedunt.

Gestire significat laetum esse; dictum a gesticulis facilioribus (felicioribus?). Terentius in Eunucho . . . Vergilius, Georgicorum lib. I. Paulus, 96, gestit qui subita felicitate exhilaratus nimio corporis motu praeter consuetudinem exultat. Servius, G. I. 387, gestire est laetitiam suam corporis habitu significare. So more fully Donatus Eun. 3. 5. 7, who quotes the line from the first Georgic.

Involare est inruere, insilire; aut a volatu, aut a vola, id est media manu, dictum. Terentius Eunucho . . . Lucilius, lib. 30. Servius, Aen. 3. 233, involare dicimus intra volam tenere, etc. 6. 198, vola dicitur media pars sive pedis sive manus. Paulus, 370, s. v. volae vestigium, palma manus vola dicta. Comp. Placidus, 58, Isidore, 17. 7. 67.

P. 33. Segne . . . sine igni . . . Vergil . . . Cicero. So Velius Longus in the Verona Scholia, Aen. 4. 149; Isidore, 10. 247. Paulus, 338, derives the word from sine nitendo.

P. 34. Interpolare est immittere et interponere . . . et est tractum ab arte fullonum, qui poliendo diligenter vetera quaeque quasi in novam speciem mutant. Cicero . . . Plautus. Isidore, 19. 22. 23, interpola vestis illa dicitur, quae dum sit vetus ad novam speciem recuratur.

Everriculum genus est retis piscatorii, a verrendo dictum, vel quod trahatur, vel quod, si quid fuerit piscium nactum, everrat. Cicero. Paulus, 78, exverrae sunt purgatio quaedam domus, ex

qua mortuus ad sepulturam ferendus est, etc. Servius, Aen. 1. 59, *verrere est trahere, a rete quod verriculum dicitur.* Comp. Isidore, 19. 5. 3; Servius, G. 1. 142.

P. 35. *Angina genus morbi, eo quod angat; et Graece συνάγχη appellatur.* Lucilius, lib. 30. Paulus, 8, *... faucium dolor angina vocatur.* Plautus, *'vellem me in anginam vorti, quo huic aniculae fauces praeoccuparem.'* The same line of Plautus is quoted by Servius, G. 3. 497.

Arquatus morbus dictus qui regius dicitur, quod arcus sit concolor de virore, vel quod ita stringat corpora ut in arcum ducat. Lucilius . . . Varro. Isidore, 4. 8. 13, *icteris Graeci appellant a cuiusdam animalis nomine, quia sit coloris fellei. Hunc morbum Latini arcuatum, a similitudine caelestis arcus.*

Privum est proprium unius cuiusque; unde et res privata. Lucilius, lib. 30 . . . *Idem, lib. 1.* Paulus, 226, *privos privasque antiqui dicebant pro singulis. Ob quam causam et privata dicuntur quae unius cuiusque sint: hinc et privilegium et privatus.* Gellius, 10. 20. 4, on the word *privilegium*: *quia veteres privata dixerunt quae nos singula dicimus. Quo verbo Lucilius in primo saturarum libro usus est, etc.* Nonius, it will be observed, adds a quotation from Lucilius which is not in Gellius. Acron, Hor. S. 2. 5. 11, *privum est quod unius cuiusque proprium est et alterius non est. . . unde et privilegium, ut hoc Plautinum indicat, 'exite et ferte fustes privos in manu.'*

Fratrum proprietatem Nigidius acutissime dixit; 'frater est,' inquit, 'dictus quasi fere alter.' = Gellius, 13. 10. 4. Paulus, 90, *frater a φρήτη, vel quod est fere alter.*

P. 36. *Depilati dictum rarefacti.* Lucilius, lib. 29, *'Gnatho, quid actum est? Depilati omnes sumus.'* Paulus, 204, *pilat . . . pro detrahit pilos, a quo depilati.*

P. 37. *Aqua intercus, hydropum morbus; quasi aqua intercutem.* Lucilius . . . Cicero. Placidus, 60, *intercus, hydrophs.*

Maltas veteres molles appellari voluerunt, a Graeco, quasi μαλακούς. (So the Harleian MS.) Lucilius, lib. 27. Porphyrio, Hor. S. 1. 2. 25, *sub Malthini nomine quidam Maecenatem suspicantur significari; ab re tamen nomen finxit, maltha enim*

μαλακός dicitur. Paulus, 135, *malta dicitur Graece pix cum cera mixta.*

Portorium dicitur merces quae portitoribus datur. Lucilius, *lib.* 27. Festus, 237, had a note on *portorium*, which is now mutilated.

Sedulo significat sine dolo. Lucilius, *lib.* 27. So Donatus, *Ad. I. I.* 25, 3. 3. 59; Servius (Dan.), *A. 2.* 374 = Isidore, 10. 247; *comp. ib.* 244.

P. 38. *Versipelles dicti sunt quolibet genere se commutantes.* Lucilius . . . Plautus. Isidore, 10. 278, *versipellis eo quod in diversa vultum et mentem vertat. Inde et versutus et callidus.*

Capital dictum est capitis periculum. Plautus . . . Lucilius. Paulus, 48, *capital, facinus quod capitis poena luitur.*

Clandestino est abscondite. Lucilius, *lib.* 26. Placidus, 23, *clandestina res, occulta.*

P. 39. *Eliminare, extra limen eicere.* Pacuvius . . . Pomponius . . . Ennius . . . Accius. Quintilian, 8. 3. 31, *memini iuvenis admodum inter Pomponium et Senecam etiam praefationibus esse tractatum, an 'gradus eliminat' in tragoedia dici oportuisset.* Placidus, 39, *eliminare, extra limen proferre, vel publice secretum quid dicere.*

Vituperare dictum est vitio dare, tamquam culpae vel dispi- centiae. Terentius *Andria.* Donatus, *And. Prol.* 8, *vituperare est mala vitio dare et etiam bona.*

Pilare dictum est ut plumare, pilis vestiri. Afranius . . . Novius. Paulus, 204, *pilat, pilos habere incipit.*

P. 40. *Rabere dictum est a rabie.* Varro, *Idem Attii quod Titii, 'quid est, quid latras, quid rabis, quid vis tibi?'* Caecilius. Paulus, 272-3, *rabidus a rabie, qui morbus caninus est.* Catullus, *'rabidus furor animi.'*

Tintinnire dicitur sonare; unde et tintinnacula sunt appellata. Afranius *Vopisco, 'tintinnire ianitoris impedimenta audio.'* Nigidius, *lib.* 17 (18 the Harleian MS.). Festus, 364, *tintinnare est apud Naevium . . . et apud Afranium, 'ostiarii impedimenta tintinnire audio.'* *Comp.* Isidore, 3. 21. 13.

Verminari positum torqueri, a vermibus, quod facile se torqueant.

Pomponius. Festus, 375, *vermina dicuntur dolores corporis cum quodam minuto motu quasi a vermibus scindatur. Hic dolor Graece σρόφος dicitur.*

Infabre, foede, ut est adfabre, pulchre. Pacuvius *Niptris*. Paulus, 28, *adfabrum, fabre factum.*

P. 41. *Reserare, aperire, a sera dictum,* etc. Festus, 282, has a fragment on *resero* illustrated from Pacuvius.

Tergiversari, fallere et dicta mutare. Et est quasi tergum vertere, ut ait Plautus Amphitruone . . . M. Tullius De Officiis. Isidore, 10. 271, *tergiversator quod animum quasi tergum vertat huc et illuc.*

Prudentiam a providendo dictam dilucide ostendit M. Tullius in Hortensio, etc. Isidore, 10. 201, *prudens, quasi porro videns.*

P. 42. *Occationem ob occaecatis seminibus, qua id efficitur, dicit M. Tullius voluit, De Senectute,* etc. Comp. p. 61, *occationes proprietas his indiciis aperitur.* Varro, *De Re Rustica, lib. 1,* 'et postea occare, id est comminuere, ne sit glaeba, quod ita occidunt, occare dictum.' Serenus 'Occatio occaecatio est.' Festus, 181, *occare et occatorem Verrius putat dictum ab occaedendo, quid caedit grandes globos terrae; cum Cicero venustissime dicat ab occaecando fruges satas.* Both etymologies are given by Isidore, 17. 2. 4.

Verniliter pro adulatorie, a vernis, quibus haec vivendi ars est. Caecilius Venatore. Placidus, 84, *vernilis, subdolos et malus et servilis.*

Pecuniosorum et locupletium proprietatem aperuit M. Tullius, De Republica, lib. 2, a pecore pecuniosos, et a possessionibus locorum locupletes appellatos adserens; 'multaeque dictione ovium et boum, quod tunc erat res in pecore et locorum possessionibus, ex quo pecuniosi et locupletes vocabantur.' Paulus, 119, *locupletes, locorum multorum domini.* Isidore, 10. 155, refers to the same passage of Cicero as that quoted by Nonius. Compare further Nigidius ap. Gell. 10. 5. 2, Servius, E. 1. 33, Isidore, 16. 18. 4.

Viritim dictum est separatim et per singulos viros. M. Tullius *De Republica . . . Plautus . . . Varro.* Paulus, 378, *viritim dicitur dari quod datur per singulos viros.*

P. 43. *Vernas veteres appellabant qui vere sacro fuerant nati* . . . Plautus . . . Lucilius. Festus, 372, *vernae qui in villis vere nati* . . . *et (quod) tunc rem divinam instituerit Marti Numa Pompilius pacis concordiaeque obtinendae gratia inter Sabinos Romanosque*, etc.

Concinnare est facere, ut Plautus Amphitruone . . . *Recte autem concinere et consentire intellegi potest, quasi concanere*, etc. This note is evidently in a confused state, but some light may be thrown upon it by Paulus, 38, *concinnare est apte componere, concinere enim convenire est*. It would appear from this that Verrius must in some way have connected the two words. Compare further Placidus, 27, *concinnatus factus*. A similar note recurs in Nonius, p. 90.

P. 44. *Blatis et blateras, confingis, aut incondite et inaniter loqueris* [*aut a Graeco βλάξ*] *aut a balatu*. Plautus. The words in brackets I have introduced from Paulus, 34: *blaterare est stulte et praecipide loqui, quod a Graeco βλάξ originem ducit*. Compare Placidus, 15, Acron, Hor. S. 2. 7. 35.

Percontari, diligenter inquirere. Plautus . . . *Et est proprietas verbi ab eo tracta quod vada in fluminibus contis exquiruntur*. Festus, 214, *percunctatio pro interrogatione dicta videtur ex nautico usu, quia conto pertemptant cognoscuntque navigantes aquae altitudinem. Ob quam causam ait Verrius etiam secundam syllabam per o solere scribi*. So Donatus, Hec. 2. 1. 2.

Cerriti et larvati male sani, et aut Cereris ira aut larvarum incursatione animo vexati. Plautus. Paulus, 54, *cerritus, furiosus: 119, larvati furiosi et mente moti, quasi larvis exterriti*. Acron, Hor. S. 2. 3. 277, *cerriti proprie dicuntur qui a Cerere percussi sunt: so Servius, Aen. 7. 377*.

P. 45. *Cassum veteres inane posuerunt. Et arbitrandum est eius verbi proprietatem magis ab araneorum cassibus dictam, . . . non, ut quibusdam videtur, quasi quassum*. The etymology repudiated by Nonius is adopted by Servius (Dan.), Aen. 2. 85.

Propriam corvorum vocem croccitum veteres esse voluerunt. Plautus in *Aulularia*, 'simul radebat pedibus terram, et voce croccibat sua.' Paulus, 53, *crocatio corvorum vocis appellatio*. (Müller suggests *croccitio*. The Harleian MS. of Nonius here reads

originally *crocchitum* and *crocchibat*; assuming the spelling with the double consonant correct, it would be easy for *crocchire* to be corrupted into *crocicare*.)

Sublevit significat inlusit et pro ridiculo habuit . . . Plautus. Placidus, 79, *sublevit subiunxit, a liniendo* (surely *subunxit*).

Investes dicuntur impuberes, quibus propter teneram aetatem nulla pars corporis pilat. Hoc et Aeneidos lib. 8 videtur sensisse Vergilius, 'aurea caesaries ollis atque aurea vestis.' So too Servius on the passage (Aen. 8. 659). Paulus, 368, *vesticeps puer qui iam vestitus est pubertate; e contra investis est qui necdum pubertate vestitus est.* Placidus, 58, *investem, impuberem, sine barba.*

Ludibria proprietatem trahunt a levi ac sine pondere, et contemnendo, aut, quod magis verum est, ludicro. Vergilius. Placidus, 63, *ludibrium est aliqua res quae ludo et contemptu digna est.*

P. 46. *Febris proprietatem a ferviditate morbi vel mali, ut a calendo calorem, Varro Andabatis aperiendam putat.* So Isidore, 4. 6. 2, Servius, G. 3. 458.

P. 47. *Exporrectum, extentum; porrectum enim est tentum, id est, porro iactum.* Varro *Endymionibus, 'quare si in somnum reccideris, ἀπὸ ποτὲ (so Bücheler) eris iterum exporrectus.'* Is this note corrupt, and made up out of two, one of which was on *experrectus* and the other on *exporrectus*? Paulus, 80, has two notes: *experrectus est qui per se vigilare coepit, expergitus ab alio excitatus*; and a little below, *exporgere, porro agere, exporrigere.* On p. 79 he connects *experrectus* with *porrigo*.

Torculum, quod usu torcular, dictum quod intortum laticem vitis vel oleae exprimat. Varro. So Isidore, 15. 6. 7, s. v. *torcular*.

Cingulum a cingendo . . . Varro *Gerontodidascolo, 'novus maritus tacitulus taxim uxoris solvebat cingulum.'* Paulus, 63, *cingulo nova nupta praecingebatur, quod vir in lecto solvebat, etc.*

P. 48. *Silicernium pessime intellegentes ita posuisse Terentium putant quod incurvitate silices cernat senex. Silicernium est proprie convivium funebre quod senibus exhibetur.* Varro *Meleagris.* Donatus, Ad. 4. 2. 48, gives as alternative derivations *silentes cernere* and *silicem cernere*. Paulus, 295, *silicernium erat genus farciminis, quo fletu (?) familia purgabatur. Dictum autem*

silicernium quod cuius nomine ea res instituebatur, is iam silentium cerneret. Caecilius Obolostate, 'credidi silicernium eius me esse esurum.' Another etymology is offered by Servius, Aen. 5. 92.

Elixum, quicquid ex aqua mollitur vel decoquitur, nam lixam aquam veteres dixerunt, etc. Paulus, 76, *elixa a liquore dicta.* Isidore, 20. 2. 22, *elixum eo quod in aqua sola decoquitur.* *Lixa enim aqua dicitur, ab eo quod sit soluta, etc.*

Parochus a Graeco tractum est nomen, quod vehicula praebeat: ὀχήματα enim Graece, Latine vehicula appellantur. Varro. Acron, Hor. S. 1. 5. 45, *parochi genus officii qui solent peregrinis salem et ligna praebere, et significat publicum cursum.* Vel *parochi sunt qui solent legatis causa rei publicae iter facientibus necessaria ministrare, publici muliones.*

P. 49. *Trossuli, equites Romani, dicti sunt torosuli* (so I think we should read after the first hand of the Harleian MS.) Varro. Paulus, 367, *trosuli equites dicti quod oppidum Tusculorum Trossulum sine opera peditum ceperint.*

Cetarii genus est piscatorum quod maiores pisces capit, dictum ab eo quod cete in mari maiora sunt piscium genera. Vergil . . . Varro. So Donatus, Eun. 2. 2. 25, Placidus, 22.

P. 50. *Lingulacae, locutuleiae, a procacitate linguae et loquendi proprietatem trahunt.* Plautus. Paulus, 117 (quoted above).

Fures significationem habere a furvo . . . quod per obscuras atque atras noctes opportuna sit eis mali effectio . . . Varro ostendit *Rerum Divinarum lib. 14 . . .* Homerus, κλέπη δέ τε νυκτὸς ἀμείνω. Gellius, 1. 18. 4, quotes the same passage of Varro (which is rightly given in the Harleian MS. from the *Rerum Divinarum*) more fully than Nonius, but does not give the line of Homer. The derivation of *fur* from *furvus* may also be found in Servius, G. 3. 407, A. 9. 350, Placidus, 47, Isidore, 5. 26. 18, Acron, Hor. Od. 2. 13. 21.

Ventorum proprietates, etc. This note is an abridgment from one which is given in a fuller form by Gellius, 2. 22, and Isidore, 13. 11. Nonius again, however, shows his independence of Gellius by quoting passages of Homer which are not in the note of the latter.

P. 51. *Peni, vel penoris* (so the Harleian MS.), etc. Gellius, 4. 1, illustrates the forms and meanings of this word at great length from Q. Scaevola and other jurists. Servius, Aen. 1. 703, has a note which gives the pith of Gellius's remarks, but adds instances from Horace, Plautus, and Persius.

Laevum significari veteres voluerunt quasi a levando. Vergilium quoque sub hac ostentatione posuisse veteres putant (so Harl.). *Georgicorum lib. 4, 'si quem Numina laeva sinunt, auditque vocatus Apollo.'* Ennius *Annalium lib. 3, 'olli de caelo laevum dedit inclutus signum.'* Gellius, 5. 12. 13, gives the opposite interpretation of *laevus* in the line from Vergil; Ennius he does not quote at all. Servius, G. 4. 6, agrees with Nonius. See further Servius, Aen. 2. 54. 693; 9. 631; Schol. Veron. Aen. 2. 693.

Rudentes ea causa sapientissimi dictos volunt, quod funes, cum vento verberentur, rudere existimentur; atque hunc sonum proprium funium, non asinorum putant. Festus, 265, *rudentes vestes nauticae, et asini cum voces mittunt.* Comp. Isidore, 19. 4. 1.

Infesti proprietatem hanc esse Nigidius voluit, quasi nimium festinantis ad scelus vel ad fraudem. The note of Nigidius is given in full by Gellius, 9. 12. 6. In like manner the following note of Nonius on *maturare* is given fully from Nigidius by Gellius, 10. 11.

Lictoris proprietatem a ligando dictum vetustas putat; ita enim carnificis officium antiquitas fungebatur. M. Tullius *pro Rabirio*. Gellius, 12. 3, gives the same explanation as Nonius, quoted from Valgius Rufus, and a different one from Tiro. Paulus, 115, *lictores dicuntur quod fasces virgarum ligatos ferunt. Hi parentes magistratibus delinquentibus plagas ingerunt.*

P. 52. The note on *soror* = Gellius, 13. 10, where Nigidius is quoted on *frater*. It may therefore come from Nigidius.

Lues a rebus solvendis proposita. Licinius Macer *Annalibus, lib. 2.* Paulus, 120, *lues est diluens usque ad nihil, tractum a Graeco λύειν.* Comp. Isidore, 4. 6. 19. Placidus, 60, *lues, solves.*

The following note on *humanitas* is given more fully by Gel-

lius, 13. 7, but differently worded, Gellius making no mention of *comitas*.

Ador frumenti genus quod epulis et immolationibus sacris pium putatur, unde et adorare, propitiare religiones, potest dictum videri. Varro . . . Vergil. Paulus, 3, and Isidore, 17. 3. 6, connect it with *edo*.

The following note on *facies*=Gellius, 13, 20, but Gellius gives the quotations in a different order. With the substance of the note may be compared also Isidore, 11. 1. 33, Donatus, Eun. 2. 3. 5, Servius, Aen. 6. 560. The next (p. 53), on *vestibulum*, is virtually identical with that in Gellius, 16. 5, but can hardly be borrowed from it, as Nonius has a passage from the *De Oratore* of Cicero which Gellius has omitted. The note on *vescus* in the same chapter of Gellius is undoubtedly taken ultimately from Verrius Flaccus, and this may also be the case with that on *vestibulum*¹. The various views of the ancient scholars on this word may also be found in Servius, Aen. 6. 273; 2. 469, Isidore, 15. 7. 2.

Bidentes qui existimant ob eam causam oves a Vergilio dictas quod duos dentes habeant, pessime ac vitiose intellegunt; nam nec duos dentes habent, et hoc quidem genus monstri est. Nonius proceeds to quote Pomponius and Laberius on *bidens*, and Nigidius on *bidental*. Hyginus, apud Gell. 16. 6, whose note corresponds closely in substance with that of Nonius, does not quote Laberius, and cites Nigidius on *bidentes*, not on *bidental*. Paulus, 33, says *bidental dicebant quoddam templum, quod in eo bidentibus hostiis sacrificaretur. Bidentes autem sunt oves duos dentes longiores ceteris habentes.* Isidore, 12. 1. 9, *bidentes vocant eo quod inter octo dentes duos altiores habent*: compare further Acron, Hor. Od. 3. 27. 13, A. P. 471; Servius, A. 4. 57; 6. 39. The original note may have come either from Hyginus or from Verrius.

P. 54. The note on *fenus* is given more fully in Gellius, 16. 12. 5: the substance of it is from Verrius: see Paulus, 36, *fenus et feneratoris et lex de credita pecunia fenebris a fetu dicta*,

¹ See p. 270.

quod crediti nummi alios pariunt, et apud Graecos eadem res τόκος dicitur: so ib. 94. The following one upon *recepticius servus* is stated by Gellius (17. 6) to come from the work of Verrius *De obscuris Catonis*: as a fact it is quoted from the *De Verborum Significatu* by Festus, 282. Again Nonius cannot be borrowing from Gellius, as he has a quotation from Cicero *De Oratore* which Gellius knows nothing of.

Siticipines. This note is preserved in a fuller form by Gellius, 20. 2.

Iumentum a iungendo veteres dictum putant, g littera in eo nomine attrita. Nam et vectabulum dicunt quod nunc vehiculum dicitur. A curious misunderstanding; Gellius, 20. 1. 28, *iumentum quoque non id solum significat quod nunc dicitur, sed vectabulum etiam, quod adiunctis pecoribus trahebatur, veteres nostri iumentum a iungendo dixerunt.* Surely it is impossible here that Nonius had the note of Gellius before him. He seems to think that *vectabulum* stands to *vehiculum* as *iumentum* to *iumentum*.

P. 55. Nonius defines the word *arcera*, and illustrates it from Varro. Gellius, 20. 1. 29, defines it in the same way, but does not quote any illustration. Paulus, 15, *arcera genus plaustris est modici quo homo vectari possit.* Compare Placidus, 9.

Tropaei significantiam propriam Varro Bimarco ostendit; 'ideo fuga hostium Graece vocatur τροπή. Hinc spolia capta, fixa in stipitibus, appellantur tropaea.' So Servius, Aen. 10. 775, Isidore, 18. 2. 3.

Luxum, id est vulsum et loco motum, quod nunc luxatum ignari latine dicimus. Inde luxuria, quia a recta vivendi via sit exclusa et eiecta. Paulus, 119, *luxa membra e suis locis mota et soluta, a quo luxuriosus, in re familiari solutus.* 120, *luxantur . . . i. e. luxuriantur.* So Isidore, 10. 160.

Culinam (perhaps colinam) veteres coquinam dixerunt, non ut nunc vulgus putat. Varro . . . Plautus. Acron, Hor. S. 1. 5. 38, *culina dicta est coquina quia ibidem di penates colantur, etc.* Isidore, 20. 10. 1, *ab igne colendo culinam antiqui dixerunt.* This is Varro's etymology as quoted by Nonius.

P. 56. *Petauristae a veteribus dicebantur qui saltibus vel schemis levioribus moverentur, et haec proprietas a Graeca nominatione descendit, ἀπὸ τοῦ πέτασθαι.* Varro *Epistola ad Caesarem*. Comp. Isidore, 11. 2. 9 . . . *Idem, de Vita Populi Romani*. Festus, 206, *petauristas Lucilius a petauro appellatos existimare videtur, cum ait 'sicut mechanici cum alto exiluire petauro.'* At Aelius Stilo *quod in aëre volent*, etc.

P. 57. *Curiam a cura dictam Varro designat, de Vita Populi Romani, lib. 2* (so, not 3, the Harleian MS.) Paulus, 49, *curia locus est ubi publicas curas gerebant*, etc. So Isidore, 15. 2. 28.

Legionum proprietatem a delectu militum, etc. So Isidore, 9. 3. 46.

Enixae: for this note comp. Placidus, 37.

Remulcare dictum quasi molli et leni tractu ad progressum mulcere. Sisenna *Historiarum lib. 2*. Paulus, 279, *remulco est cum scaphae remis navis magna trahitur*. Isidore, 19. 4. 8, illustrates the word from Valgius. Gloss. ap. Löwe, *Glossae Nominum*, p. 169, *remulcant, scapha navem ducunt*.

P. 58. *Agilem, celerem, ab agendo.* Sisenna *Historiarum lib. 3*. Isidore, 10. 6, *agilis ab agendo aliquid celeriter, sicut docilis*.

Expediti et impediti ex una proprietate habent vocabuli causam, aut exsolutis pedibus aut inligatis. Sisenna *Historiarum lib. 4*. Donatus, *And. 3. 5. 11*, *impeditus proprie est qui ita pedes habet inligatos ut progredi non possit*.

Testudines sunt loca in aedificiis camerata, ad similitudinem aquatilium testudinum, quae duris tergoribus sunt et incurvis. Vergil . . . Sisenna. Compare Servius, *Aen. 1. 505*, Isidore, 15. 8. 8.

Adolere verbum est proprie sacra reddentium, quod significat votis vel supplicationibus numen auctius facere, ut est in iisdem Macte esto. Vergil. Servius, *Aen. 1. 704*, *adolere proprie est augere*, etc.

P. 59. *Accensi genus militiae est administrantibus proximum.* Varro *Rhetoricorum lib. 20*. Paulus, 18, *accensi dicebantur qui*

in locum mortuorum militum subito subrogabantur, dicti ita quia ad censem adiciebantur.

Nefarius from *far* (*quo scelerati uti non debeant*). So Isidore, 10. 188, both notes coming ultimately from Varro.

Mansuetum dictum est quasi manu suetum (*mansuetum* Harl.), *quod omnia quae sunt natura fera manuum permulsione mitescant. Unde Vergilius, etc.* Paulus, 132, *mansuetum, ad manum venire solitum. Alii aiunt mansuetum dictum neque et misericordia maestum, neque ex crudelitate saevum, sed modestia temperatum.* Isidore, 10. 168, *mansuetus mitis vel domitus, quasi manu adsuetus.*

P. 60. *Rotundum a rota dictum est, etc.* Isidore, 20. 12. 1, *rotundum a rota vocatum.*

Inepti proprietatem Cicero De Oratore lib. 2 patefacit; quem enim nos ineptum vocamus, is mihi videtur ab hoc nomen habere quod non sit aptus. Isidore, 10. 144, *ineptus apto contrarius est, quasi inaptus.*

P. 61. *Deversoria dicta sunt hospitia, a devertendo.* Cicero *De Oratore lib. 2.* Isidore, 15. 3. 10, *diversorium dictum eo quod ex diversis viis ibi conveniatur.*

Heredii proprietatem indicat Varro De Re Rustica lib. 1, 'bina iugera, quod a Romulo primum divisa viritim, quae heredem sequerentur, heredium appellarunt.' Paulus, 99, *heredium, praedium parvulum.* Placidus, 52, *herediolum, possessiuculam.*

Legumina Varro De Re Rustica lib. 1 dicta existimat quod non secentur, sed quod legantur. Isidore, 17. 4. 1, *legumina a legendo dicta, quasi electa.*

Porcae agri, quam dicimus, significantiam Varro designat De Re Rustica lib. 1, qua aratrum vomere striam facit, sulcus vocatur. Quod est inter duos sulcos, elata terra, dicitur porca, quod ea seges frumentum porricit. Accius *Parergorum lib. 1, bene proscissas cossigerare (?) ordine porcas, bidenti ferro rectas deruere. Porcae sunt signa sulcorum quae ultra se iaci semina prohibent: porcere enim, prohibere, saepius legimus.* Festus, 218, *porcae appellantur rari sulci, qui ducuntur aquae derivandae gratia, dicti quod porcant, id est prohibeant aquam frumentis nocere.* Paulus, 15, *porcet dictum ab antiquis quasi porro arcet.* Placidus, 74, *porcam, terram quae inter sulcos est elata.*

P. 62. *Frascere, tamquam friari, et putrefieri vetustate.* Varro *De Re Rustica* lib. 1. Paulus, 90, *fracebunt, displicebunt.* Placidus, 44, *fracebunt, sordebunt, displicebunt, dictum de fracibus, qui sunt stillicidia sterquilini.*

Calonum . . . proprietas haec habetur (so Harl.), *quod ligna militibus sumministrent; k̄ala enim Graeci ligna dicunt, ut Homerus, ἐπὶ δὲ ξύλα κ̄αλ' ἐπέθευτο.* The same account of the word is given by Servius, Aen. 1. 39, and Porphyrio, Hor. Epist. 1. 14. 42. Paulus, 63, somewhat differently: *calones militum servi dicti quia ligneas clavas ferebant, quae Graeci k̄ala vocant. Is quoque qui huiusmodi telo utitur clavator appellatur.* In another place (225) he derives it from *calare*: so Porphyrio, Hor. S. 1. 2. 44.

Conticinium, noctis primum tempus, quo omnia quiescendi gratia conticescunt. Isidore, 5. 31. 8=Placidus, 70, *conticinium est quando omnia silent, conticescere enim silere est.* Comp. Servius (Dan.), Aen. 3. 587.

Delibratum, decortcatum, ut deartuatum, per artus discissum. Paulus, 73, *delubrum . . . delibratum, id est decortcatum.*

P. 63. *Grumae sunt loca media, in quae directae quatuor congregantur et conveniunt viae. Est autem gruma mensura quaedam, qua fixa viae ad normam (lineam Harl.) deriguntur, ut est agrimensurum et talium.* Ennius . . . Lucilius. Paulus, 96, *gruma appellatur genus machinulae cuiusdam, quo regiones agri cuiusque cognosci possunt.*

Luculentum, pulchrum et bonum et perspicuum; dictum a luce. Licinius Macer . . . Plautus *Cornicularia.* Paulus, 120, *luculentus a luce appellatus.* Isidore, 10. 54, *luculentus ab eo quod sil lingua clarus et sermone splendidus.*

P. 64. *Conviciium dictum est quasi e vicis iocum, qui, secundum ignobilitatem loci, maledictis et dictis turpibus cavillentur.* Paulus, 41, *conviciium a vicis, in quibus prius habitatum est, videtur dictum, vel immutata littera quasi convocium.*

Propages est series et adfixio continua vel iuge ducta. Pages enim compactio, unde compages, et propagare, id est genus iuge longe mittere. Paulus, 227, *propages progenies a propagando, ut*

faciunt rustici cum vitem vetulam supprimunt ut ex ea una plures faciant.

P. 65. *Aequor ab aequo et plano, etc.* So Isidore, 13. 12. 1, and elsewhere, Servius, Aen. 2. 69, G. 1. 50. 469.

Maeniana ab inventore eorum Maenio dicta sunt, unde et columna Maenia. Cicero *Academicorum lib. 4.* Festus, 134, *Maeniana appellata sunt a Maenio censore, qui primus in foro ultra columnas tigna projecit, quo ampliarentur superiora spectacula.*

Natrices dicuntur angues natantes. Cicero . . . Lucilius. Isidore, 12. 4. 25, *natrix serpens aquam veneno inficiens . . . de quo Lucanus 'et natrix violator aquae.'*

P. 66. *Manum dicitur clarum; unde etiam mane, post tenebras noctis, diei pars prima; inde Matuta, quae Graece Λευκοθέα.* Nam inde volunt etiam deos Manes manes appellari, id est bonos et prosperos . . . Inde immanes non boni, ut saepe. Paulus, 122, *matrem Matutam antiqui ob bonitatem appellabant, et maturum idoneum usui, et mane principium diei, et inferi di manes, ut suppliciter appellati boni essent, et in carmine Saliari Cerus manus intellegitur creator bonus.* So ib. pp. 125, 147; 157-8, he gives an etymology from *manare* (compare Varro, L. L. 6. 4). For a further version of the note see Servius, Aen. 3. 63, and compare also Isidore, 5. 30. 14; 8. 11. 100; 10. 139.

Fodicare est fodere, a fodiendo dictum. Cicero. Hence we may perhaps emend Paulus, 84, *fodare fodere*, into *fodicare fodere*.

Praeficae dicebantur apud veteres quae adhiberi solerent funeri, mercede conductae, ut et flerent et fortia facta laudarent. Plautus, in *Frivolaria* . . . Lucilius . . . Varro. Paulus, 223, *praeficae dicuntur mulieres ad lamentandum mortuum conductae, quae dant ceteris modum plangendi quasi in hoc ipsum praefectae.* Naevius. . . Plautus, it should be observed, is quoted on the same page. Compare further Servius, Aen. 6. 216, 9. 486, Acron, Hor. A. P. 431. In this case the note of Varro, *De Lingua Latina* (7. 70), corresponds far more closely than usual with that of Festus.

P. 67. *Proletarii dicti sunt plebei, qui nihil reipublicae exhi-*

beant, sed tantum prolem sufficient. Cato . . . Cassius Hemina . . . Varro. Paulus, 226, *proletarium capite census, dictum quod ex his civitas constet, quasi prolis progenie; idem et proletanei.* Gellius in his note on the word (16. 10) gives instances different from Nonius.

Prosapies generis longitudo, dicta a prosupando aut proserendo. Cato. Festus, 225, *prosapia progenies; id est porro sparsis et quasi iactis liberis, quia supare significat iacere et dissicere.*

P. 68. *Optiones in cohortibus qui sunt honesti gradus, ut optatos, quod est electos, et adoptatos, quod adscitos, Varro De Vita Populi Romani, lib. 3, existimat appellari: 'referentibus centurionibus et decurionibus adoptati in cohortes subibant, ut semper plenae essent legiones; a quo optiones in turmis decurionum et in cohortibus centurionum appellati.'* Festus, 184, *optio est optatio, sed in re militari optio appellatur is quem decurio aut centurio optat sibi rerum privatarum ministrum.* 198, *optio qui nunc dicitur, antea appellabatur accensus. Is adiutor dabatur centurioni a tribuno militum, etc.* See further Donatus, Eun. 5. 8. 27, Isidore, 9. 3. 41.

The following notes in this book of Nonius, then, stand in a more or less close relation to notes in Paulus, and may therefore perhaps be referred ultimately to Verrius Flaccus :

P. 1, *senium.* 3, *velitatio, hostimentum.* 4, *capulum.* 5, *temulenta.* 6, *exercitus.* 8, *nautea, caperrare.* 9, *examussim, focula.* 10, *bardus, inlex, lurco.* 13, *veterinus, creperus.* 14, *vitulans.* 15, *torrus (?) , grumus.* 16, *expectoro, lacto.* 17, *strena (?) , adulatio (?) , manduco.* 18, *exdorsua, rumen, rutrum, nebulo.* 19, *trua.* 22, *capronae, glisco.* 23, *saga, lapit, munes, petulantia, procacitas, Kalendae (?) .* 25, *valgus, catax, cilo (?) , compernis.* 26, *lingulaca, rabula.* 27, *exodium, putus.* 29, *merenda.* 30, *antes, camerum, immunis, dirus, exodium.* 31, *sudus, inritare.* 32, *arcanum, monumentum, gestire.* 34, *everriculum (?) .* 35, *angina, privus.* 36, *depilati, frater.* 37, *portorium (?) .* 38, *capital.* 39, *pilare.* 40, *rabere, tintinnire, verminari, infabre.* 41, *reserare (?) .* 42, *occatio, locuples.* 43, *verna, concinnare, viritim.* 44, *blatero, percontari, cerriti.* 45, *croccitum, investis.* 47, *exporrectum, experrectum (?) , cingulum.* 48, *silicernium,*

elixum. 49, *trosuli.* 50, *lingulacae.* 51, *rudentes.* 52, *lictor* (?), *lues* (?), *ador* (?). 53, *bidentes,* *fenus.* 54, *recepticius,* *arcera.* 55, *luxus.* 56, *petaurista.* 57, *curia,* *remulco.* 58, *adolere,* *accensi.* 59, *mansuetum* (?). 61, *heredium,* *porca.* 62, *calones.* 63, *gruma,* *luculentus.* 64, *convicium,* *propages.* 65, *Maeniana.* 66, *manus,* *fodicare* (?); *praefica.* 67, *proletarii,* *prosapias,* *optio.*

The following notes cannot be referred to Verrius Flaccus, but have parallels in Gellius, the commentators of the fourth century, Placidus, and Isidore, and may therefore be regarded as coming from the same sources as those corresponding notes :

P. 3, *Phrygiones.* 6, *pellices,* *calvitur.* 9, *mutus.* 11, *concenturio.* 12, *exsul.* 13, *haustrum.* 14, *Avernus,* *extorris.* 15, *torrus.* 17, *deliro.* 20, *corporare.* 21, *cernuus,* *caries.* 24, *ignominia,* *fides.* 25, *seditio.* 26, *strabo.* 27, *exterminatus.* 28, *edulia.* 29, *calces,* *mediocritas.* 30, *modestia.* 32, *tormina,* *involare.* 33, *segnis.* 34, *interpolare.* 35, *arquatus.* 37, *aqua intercus,* *malta,* *sedulo.* 38, *versipellis,* *clandestino,* *elimino.* 39, *vituperare.* 41, *tergiversator,* *prudens.* 45, *cassus,* *sublevit,* *ludibrium.* 46, *febris.* 47, *torcular.* 48, *parochus.* 49, *cetarii.* 50, *fures,* *venti.* 51, *penus,* *laevus,* *infestus,* *maturare.* 52, *soror,* *humanitas,* *facies.* 53, *vestibulum.* 54, *siticines.* 55, *iumentum,* *tropaeum,* *culina.* 57, *enixae.* 58, *agilis,* *impediti,* *testudo.* 59, *nefarius.* 60, *rotundus,* *ineptus,* *deversorium.* 61, *legumen.* 62, *conticinium.* 65, *natrix.*

XI.

THILO'S SERVIUS¹.

(*Journal of Philology, Vol. X.*)

THE second volume of this work contains the Servian commentary on the fourth and fifth books of the Aeneid, with an elaborate preface, in which the editor sets forth at length his views on the work, the manuscripts on which its text is based, its authorities, its date, and its general character. The appearance of this preface, while it makes the volume doubly welcome, also makes it possible for a reviewer to criticize the edition, for the first time, as a whole.

There are two recensions of the Servian commentary², one of which contains many more notes than the other. These notes are sometimes supplementary to those of the shorter version, sometimes repetitions of them, sometimes inconsistent with them. The fuller recension is generally known as the Servius of Daniel, from the fact that the different manuscripts in which it is contained were first used by Peter Daniel, who edited it from these manuscripts in 1600. An account of the manuscripts used by Daniel, all or nearly all of which are fortunately still in existence, is given both by Thilo and Thomas, of whose excellent essay on Servius I have spoken elsewhere. The two

¹ *Servi Grammatici qui feruntur in Vergilium commentarii. Recensuerunt Georgius Thilo et Hermannus Hagen*, vol. 1. fasc. 2. Lipsiae, 1881.

The essays on the ancient Vergilian critics and commentators prefixed to the fourth edition of Conington's commentary were published before the appearance of this volume.

² In this paper the supposed interpolations in Servius are enclosed in brackets.

scholars are in substantial accord on all points but one. The additional notes on the first and second Aeneids are contained in a manuscript now at Cassel. A Fulda manuscript, containing additional notes on the same two books, was collated for Daniel by Scioppius. The readings of this codex, as given by Daniel, do not always coincide with those of the Cassel MS. Thomas, like Schubart before him, doubts whether the Fuldensis of Daniel is the same as the now surviving Cassellanus. Thilo maintains their identity in a very interesting and ingenious argument; but until Thomas has replied to him, it cannot be said that the last word has been spoken on the subject.

The first question to be decided with regard to the Servian commentary affects the character of the fuller version. Is the fuller version the true Servius, while the vulgate (as with Thomas and Thilo we may call it) is an abridgment? Or is the vulgate the genuine Servius, while the additional notes are interpolations? And if interpolations, by whom and when were they added to the genuine commentary?

The view that the fuller recension represents the genuine commentary was maintained by Joseph Scaliger, and has been recently upheld, though in a different form, by Ribbeck. Masvic, on the other hand, and Otfried Müller, contended for the non-Servian origin of the additional notes, and Thomas and Thilo agree with them.

In the essays prefixed to the first volume of Conington's *Virgil* (fourth edition) I ventured to express a doubt whether this latter view is correct; and a further examination of the evidence has led me to form the opinion that the additional notes have, on the whole, as good a right to bear the name of Servius as the vulgate. I doubt whether either recension of the Servian commentary can claim to come entirely from the hand of Servius, and to represent all that he had to say upon his author. But as Servius was celebrated as a very learned lecturer on Vergil, I suspect that the commentaries now bearing his name represent, in a fuller and a shorter shape respectively, notes which were at various times given by him in his lectures, and which were

edited without any serious attempt to present a properly homogeneous whole.

It used to be supposed that the additional notes were condemned absolutely by the words *ut dixit Servius* which were thought to occur in one of them on Eclogue 9. 1. But Thomas informs us, in the supplement to his essay, that these words are not really there. The only important piece of external evidence which could affect the question is therefore gone, and we are left entirely to considerations drawn from the character of the notes themselves.

The chief arguments relied upon by Thomas and Thilo, as showing that these additional notes did not form part of the original commentary of Servius, are, so far as I can ascertain, the following :

(1) The additional notes fall into two classes; one of which includes comments which are really supplementary to the vulgate, while the other consists of notes which, although they have been inserted in the text in such a way as to present a specious appearance of coherence with it, are really out of place, and interrupt the sequence of ideas. In many cases the addition is made with the aid of conjunctions such as *ergo, nam, enim, quod, quia*, and the like, which, on examination, are found to be out of place. Thilo notices in particular that the word *sane* is used in an irrational way in the additional notes. In some passages again the additional note has had the effect of mutilating the text of the vulgate.

(2) The additional notes quote a great variety of opinions upon disputed points without deciding upon any one in particular, while the vulgate usually does so only to adopt one in preference to the others.

(3) The vulgate, when referring to an opinion previously expressed, or an observation previously made, always uses the words *ut supra diximus*, while the additional notes speak impersonally, *ut supra dictum est*.

(4) Where the manuscripts of the vulgate mention the names of Donatus and Urbanus, the manuscripts containing the addi-

tional notes omit these names. This is, however, the case only with Donatus and Urbanus, not with Probus, Asper, or any other commentator mentioned in the vulgate.

(5) The compiler of the additional scholia assumes that the commentary on the Eclogues and Georgics preceded that on the Aeneid, while the vulgate assumes the reverse order. It may be observed, by the way, that the commentary of Aelius Donatus must have followed the same order as that observed in the additional scholia.

(6) In some cases the author of the additional scholia seems to have followed a different text from that followed by the author of the vulgate.

(7) The additional notes, containing quotations from Sallust, are probably to be attributed to Asper, others to Probus, others to Aelius Donatus. Many agree with Vergilian notes in Macrobius, but it cannot be shown that they are borrowed from that author.

(8) The character of the vulgate differs from that of the additional notes. The latter sometimes exhibit a deeper learning than the vulgate, while at the same time they are often expressed in worse Latin. The notes on grammar are inferior, but those on lexicography and interpretation, superior, to those of the vulgate; and the fables are given, in the additional notes, in a fuller form.

(9) The question must be answered whether scholars later than Servius, who seem to have known and used the Servian commentary, had the vulgate or the fuller version before them? Little can be made, in this connection, of Cledonius, Pompeius, Priscian, the scholia on Lucan or on Statius; but the first writer among the *mythographi*, and Isidore in his *Origines*, evidently borrowed from the shorter Servius. In an immense number of passages, where there is a verbal correspondence between the notes of Isidore and those of Servius, Isidore repeats the note of the vulgate, though he might as easily, had he had the fuller version before him, have copied from it. In some cases, however, it appears as if the compiler of the fuller commentary had taken his notes from Isidore.

The conclusion which Thilo draws with regard to the composition of the additional scholia is this: that they were compiled by one writer, who had before him not only the writings from which extracts were made by Macrobius, but also the *Origines* of Isidore; that his date must therefore be later than that of Isidore (about 570-640), and that from some slight indications it may be inferred that he was a Christian.

Before passing on to the more important points involved in the discussion, I may remark that this last inference is based on the slightest possible evidence. Thilo appeals to two notes on Aen. 4. 200 and 301, which he thinks (after Burmann) show a Christian tone. The first is as follows: *significat sine intermissione fieri sacrificia, ad quem (quae?), excubare per diem et noctem necesse sit, ut dicimus quotidie in officio esse; non ergo apud quas dii excubant, sed quae diis excubantur.* The second is this: *'commotis excita sacris;'* *verbo antiquo usum tradunt; moveri enim sacra dicebantur, cum sollemnibus diebus aperiebantur templa instaurandi sacrificii causa; cuius rei Plautus in Pseudolo meminit, 'scis tu profecto, mea si commovissem sacra, quo pacto et quantas soleam turbas dare.'* *Hoc vulgo apertiones appellant.*

I wish that Thilo had pointed out explicitly what mark of Christian authorship he finds in these notes. His other argument, that the compiler of the additional scholia often speaks of the customs of the Roman ritual as things of the past, need prove no more than that his notes were written after 382 A. D.

Let us now proceed to examine the arguments for the non-Servian origin of the additional scholia in the order in which (nearly following Thilo) I have stated them.

(1) There can be no doubt that many of these notes are repetitions of what has been said in the vulgate, and that many again interrupt and interfere with the coherence of the vulgate. So much is this the case that Thilo sometimes transposes them; a proceeding which, however tempting, is in my opinion questionable in a case of this kind. If we are to form an opinion on the character of a supposed interpolation, it is important that it should be exhibited to the eye of the reader, so far as possible,

in the form in which the manuscripts present it. When these additional notes are embedded in the text of the vulgate, to take them out of their place and print them separately is to assume the point which has to be proved, that they are* essentially heterogeneous to their surrounding. Even where the sense of the vulgate is unquestionably interfered with by the interrupting matter, it would, in my opinion, have been safer to print the text as it appears in the manuscripts, relegating conjectural transpositions to a note, than to pursue, as Thilo has done, the opposite method. Indeed I have found two cases, and I dare say I might find more, in which I think it doubtful whether any transposition was required¹.

The phenomenon presented by these notes does not differ in kind from what meets us in the Terentian commentary which bears the name of Donatus. This work abounds in repetitions; a fact which may show either that its author must have copied, or dictated to a class, identical notes from two or more older commentaries, or that the commentary is not the work of one scholar but of two, one of whom subsequently added, without any regard for symmetry, notes taken from a second work similar in character to the first. Or again, the same scholar may have given two or more sets of lectures, the notes of which partly coincided with and partly differed from each other, and the two

¹ Aen. 1. 52, *Poetae quidem fingunt hunc regem esse ventorum [Hippotae sive Iovis sive Neptuni filium. Qui cum immineret bellum, quo Tyrrenus, Lipari frater, Peloponnesum vastare proposuisset, missus ab Agamemnone, ut freta tueretur, pervenit ad Liparum, qui supra dictas insulas regebat imperio, factaque amicitia Cyanam filiam eius in matrimonium sumpsit et Strongulam insulam in qua maneret accepit. Varro autem dicit hunc insularum regem fuisse,] ex quarum nebulis et fumo, etc.*

Aen. 1. 145, *levat, leves ac navigabiles facit, ut 'nostrumque leves quaecumque laborem.'* [*Alibi levat, laxat: ut 'atque arta levare Vincla iubet Priamus.' Tridenti autem pro tridente, dativum pro ablativo. Aperit, ideo quod harenarum congerie impediende praeclusae ad navigandum erant. Ceterum bis idem. Ergo inmisso in eas mari aptas ad navigandum facit. Sic Sallustius, 'sed ubi tempore anni mare classibus patefactum est.' Temperat, tranquillum facit. Atque rotis summas, etc. Bene non moratur in descriptione currus, ut citius liberetur Aeneas]. At in quinto ubi nullum periculum est, etc.*

This is the order in the Cassel MS. I am not convinced that any change is necessary in either case.

sets of notes may have been carelessly embodied, side by side, in the commentary bearing his name.

The fuller version of Servius does not essentially differ in character, so far as its repetitions and inconsistencies go, from such scholia as those of Donatus on Terence. The vulgate of Servius is indeed, on the whole, a homogeneous work, which may fairly be supposed to come from one hand. Yet even the vulgate is not always consistent with itself, and sometimes gives us notes which bear the appearance of having been transcribed independently of each other and never harmonized¹. Taken by themselves, these considerations point to the conclusion that though the fuller version of Servius cannot be called a homogeneous work, it has at least as good a right to bear the name of Servius as the Terentian commentary that of Donatus. And it must further be observed that, as I hope to show in a moment, there are many cases in which the vulgate and the additional notes are absolutely homogeneous.

The second and third arguments are no doubt of importance as accentuating the facts already dwelt upon. It cannot be denied that there are slight differences of character between some of the additional notes and those of the vulgate.

(4) I am unable to see how this fact bears on the question of the Servian character of the additional notes. Where, in the vulgate, the names of Donatus and Urbanus are expressly mentioned, in the corresponding passages of the fuller version they are suppressed, and *alii*, or a similar word, is substituted for them. This shows that there were at least two recensions of that part of the commentary which is undoubtedly Servian, but what has it to do with the character of the supposed interpolations?

(5) This fact again proves no more than that there were two editions of the Servian commentary, one of which began with the Eclogues, and the other with the Aeneid. But there is some probability that this was the case with the vulgate as well. For in

¹ See, for instance, p. 5, ll. 9-12 in Thilo's edition; p. 51, ll. 3 foll., compared with p. 76, ll. 17 foll.

the Harleian manuscript of Servius,—my account of which, written in 1878¹, has not come under Thilo's notice,—the Servian memoir of Vergil is prefixed both to the commentary on the Aeneid and (in a shorter form) to that on the Eclogues. I do not gather from Thilo's account of his manuscripts that this is the case with any other copy of the vulgate; but it shows that the commentary on the Eclogues was by some editors of Servius considered to be at least independent of that on the Aeneid.

With regard to (6) it must be admitted that the facts adduced by Thilo make in favour of separating the notes of the fuller version from those of the vulgate. The same may perhaps be said of (8), though it might be as reasonably inferred that, so far as the notes on lexicography and interpretation go, the fuller version represents an older commentary than the vulgate. No conclusion that seriously affects the question can, so far as I see, be drawn from (7), for there can be no doubt that notes of Asper and Probus are embedded in the vulgate as well as in the additional scholia.

(9) I have not examined the passages which are alleged to have been borrowed from Servius by the first writer among the *mythographi*. But on the question of the relation between Isidore and Servius I am wholly unable to agree with Thilo. This point is of the utmost importance, as bearing on the question both of the sources of the vulgate, and of the relation between the vulgate and the additional notes. Could it be shown with certainty that Isidore copied from the vulgate of Servius, while he was ignorant of the fuller version, no doubt we should have a strong argument in favour of supposing the notes of the latter to be insertions by a later hand. But I think, and will endeavour to show, that Isidore did not copy from the vulgate of Servius, but that the numerous coincidences between the vulgate and Isidore are due to community of sources, and also that a comparison between Isidore and the fuller Servius shows that many notes in the latter are absolutely homogeneous

¹ In the preface to a pamphlet entitled *Ancient Lives of Vergil*.

with the vulgate, and cannot, therefore, be supposed to be interpolations.

All considerations drawn from external evidence make strongly against the theory that Isidore borrowed from the vulgate of Servius. The *Origines* of Isidore is a work of reference, arranged under heads on a perfectly intelligible system, and bears the plainest marks of having been derived from a work or works of a similar kind. It is certain that Isidore had access to the *Pratum* of Suetonius, and nearly certain that he largely consulted it; and there is no proof that he did not know the great work of Verrius Flaccus. At least there is much in Isidore which must directly or indirectly have come from the latter. Now it is abundantly plain, and is allowed by Thilo, that the *Pratum* of Suetonius was much used by Servius. We shall therefore be prepared, *a priori*, to find that Suetonius was the common authority for many identical notes in Servius and Isidore. Why indeed should Isidore, with Suetonius or an abridgment of Suetonius before him, go out of his way to look for information in Servius? It would be like hunting for a needle in a bottle of hay. But we can safely leave *a priori* ground, and give instances of notes taken from Suetonius by Servius and Isidore alike.

Serv. Ecl. 3. 8, *hirqui autem sunt oculorum anguli, secundum Suetonium Tranquillum in Vitiis Corporalibus.*

Isid. 12. 1. 14, *hircus lascivum animal et petulcum . . . cuius oculi ob libidinem in transversum aspiciunt, unde et nomen traxit. Nam hirqui sunt oculorum anguli secundum Suetonium.*

Serv. Ecl. 3. 105, *ulna proprie est spatium in quantum utraque extenditur manus. Dicta ulna ἀπὸ τῶν ὠλεων, i. e. a brachiis, unde et λευκῶλεος Ἑρη dicitur. Licet Suetonius unum cubitum velit esse tantummodo.*

Isid. 11. 1. 64, *ulna secundum quosdam utriusque manus extensio est, secundum alios cubitus, quod magis verum est, quia Graece ὠλένη cubitus dicitur.*

Serv. Aen. 7. 612, *Suetonius in libro De Genere Vestium dicit tria esse genera trabearum. Unum dis sacratum, quod est tantum de*

purpura. Aliud regum, quod est purpureum; habet enim album aliquid. Tertium augurale, de purpura et cocco mixtum.

Isid. 19. 24. 8, *trabea erat togae species ex purpura et cocco, qua operti Romanorum reges initio procedebant. Hanc primum Romulus adinvenisse dicitur, ad discretionem regii habitus.*

Serv. Aen. 7. 627, *secundum Suetonium in libro De Vitiis Corporalibus arvina est durum pingue, quod est inter cutem et viscus.*

Isid. 11. 1. 81, *arvina pinguedo cuti adhaerens.*

In these cases the reference in Servius proves the Suetonian origin of the note in Isidore, or makes it highly probable. Had Isidore been copying from Servius, why should he not have written out his notes in full and without any variation? But the very points in which the two writers differ show, in my opinion, that Isidore is abridging the passages in Suetonius from which Servius is quoting more fully. In the case of the note on *hircus*, indeed, the explanation given by Servius of *transversa tuentibus hircis* is quite different from that of Isidore.

Let us now consider some instances where there is a verbal coincidence between Isidore and the vulgate of Servius.

Serv. Aen. 1. 12, *urbs dicta ab orbe, quod antiquae civitates in orbem fiebant, vel ab urvo, parte aratri, quo muri designabantur.*

Isid. 15. 2. 3, *urbs vocata ab orbe, quod antiquae civitates in orbem fiebant, vel ab urvo parte aratri, quo muri designabantur, unde est illud 'optavitque locum regno et concludere sulco.' Locus enim futurae civitatis sulco designabatur, id est aratro. Cato: 'qui urbem, inquit, novam condet, lauro et vacca aret, ubi araverit, murum faciat, ubi portam vult esse, aratrum sustollat et portet, et portam vocet.'*

If Isidore is here borrowing his first words from Servius, it is natural to ask how it happens that he does not quote the line on which Servius is commenting, but another inaccurately remembered; and secondly, what was Isidore's authority for the second part of his note, which is so closely connected with the first that it is natural to suppose that the whole comes from one source? Was Verrius Flaccus the ultimate authority? See Fest. 375, s. v. *urvat*.

Serv. ib. *et eam deleverat Scipio Aemilianus. Quae autem nunc est postea a Romanis est condita.*

Isid. 15. I. 30, *ex iis profecta Dido in litore Africae urbem condidit, et Karthadam nominavit, quod Phoenicia lingua exprimit; mox sermone verso Karthago est dicta: hanc Scipio delevit. Quae autem nunc est, postea a Romanis condita est. Karthago autem antea Byrsa, post Tyrus dicta est, deinde Karthago.*

In this instance also the words common to Servius and Isidore occur in Isidore as an integral part of a longer note, and the supposition that they are taken from the passage in Servius is unnatural. Nor is there any other note in Servius from which they could be derived.

Much the same may be said of the following notes:

Serv. Aen. I. 43, *rates, abusive naves: nam proprie rates sunt conexae invicem trabes.*

Isid. 19. I. 9, *rates et primum et antiquissimum navigii genus e rudibus lignis asseribusque consortum, ad cuius similitudinem fabricatae naves ratariae dictae. Nunc iam rates abusive naves: nam proprie rates sunt conexae invicem trabes.*

The ultimate authority for this note may have been Verrius Flaccus: see Fest. 273, s. v. *rates*, where much the same information is given.

Serv. Aen. I. 62, *foedere, modo lege, alias pace, quae fit inter dimicantes. Foedus autem dictum vel a fetialibus, id est sacerdotibus per quos fiunt foedera, vel a porca foede, hoc est lapidibus occisa, ut ipse 'et caesa iungebant foedera porca.'*

Isid. 18. I. 11, *foedus est pax quae fit inter dimicantes, vel a fide, vel a fetialibus, id est a sacerdotibus dictum. Per ipsos enim fiebant foedera sicut per saeculares bella. Alii foedera putant a porca foede et crudeliter occisa, cuius mors optabatur ei qui a pace resiliisset (?). Vergilius, 'et caesa iungebant foedera porca.'*

Now this note of Isidore bears a much closer resemblance to a note, compounded partly of the vulgate and partly of a supposed interpolation, on Aen. 8. 641, where the etymology from *fides* is given, and referred to Cicero. So far as it goes, there-

fore, the note would go to prove that in this case the additional matter in the enlarged Servius is not an interpolation. As to the authority for the note, it may very well be Suetonius, whose name is mentioned by Isidore in its near neighbourhood, but ultimately it comes from Verrius Flaccus; Paul. 84, *foedus appellatum ab eo quod in paciscendo foedere hostia necaretur. Vergilius, 'et caesa iungebant foedera porca.' Vel quia in foedere interponatur fides.*

Serv. Aen. 1. 178, *fessus generale est: dicimus enim fessus animo, [id est incertus consilii,] ut 'ter fessus valle resedit,' et fessus corpore, quod est magis proprium, et fessus rerum a fortuna venientium, ut hoc loco. 8. 232, ter fessus valle resedit; egens consilii. Sallustius, 'fessus in Pamphyliam se recepat.' Nam corpore fatigatum dicimus, animo vero fessum; quamvis haec saepe confundat auctoritas.* Here again it seems that the additional note of the fuller version formed part of the original comment. Let us now compare Isid. 10. 101, who adds something which is in neither note: *fessus quasi fissus, nec iam integer salute; est autem generale. Dicimus enim fessus animo, ut 'ter fessus valle resedit,' et fessus corpore, quod magis est proprium, et fessus rerum a casu venientium. Fatigatus, quasi feto agitato.*

Serv. Aen. 1. 215, *feras dicimus aut quod omni corpore feruntur, aut quod naturali utuntur libertate et pro desiderio suo feruntur.*

Isid. 12. 2. 2, *ferae appellatae eo quod naturali utuntur libertate, et desiderio suo ferantur. Sunt autem liberae eorum voluntates, et huc atque illuc vagantur, et quo animus duxerit eo feruntur.*

Here it is true that Isidore's comment corresponds in general drift with the vulgate, to which the fuller version adds a remark which is not in Isidore: still the wording of the two notes is so different that it is improbable that one was copied from the other. The additional note, *sane veteres prope omnes quadrupes feras dicebant, ut 'inque feri curvam conpagibus alvum Contorsit,' et 'armentalis equae mammis et lacte ferino,'* should be compared with the Verona scholia on Aen. 7. 489, and Nonius, p. 307.

Serv. Aen. 4. 7, *nihil interest, utrum umbram an noctem dicat; nox enim umbra terrae est, ut supra* (2. 251) *'involvens umbra magna terramque polumque.'*

Isid. 5. 31. 3, *noctem autem fieri dicunt, aut quia longo itinere lassatur sol, et cum ad ultimum caeli spatium pervenit elanguescit, ac labefactus efflat suos ignes, aut quia eadem vi sub terras cogitur, qua super terras pertulit lumen, et sic umbra terrae noctem facit. Unde Vergilius, 'ruit Oceano Nox,' etc.* Here surely the agreement between Servius and Isidore is of the slenderest.

Serv. Aen. 4. 30, *sinus dicimus orbis oculorum, id est palpebras, quae a palpitatione dictae sunt, nam semper moventur.*

Isid. 11. 1. 39, *palpebrae sunt sinus oculorum, a palpitatione dictae, quia semper moventur. Concurrunt enim invicem, ut adsiduo motu reficiant obtutum, etc.*

Here not only does Isidore add something which is not in Servius, but it is plain that the object of his note is different. He is defining *palpebra*, Servius is explaining *sinus*.

Serv. Aen. 4. 130, *iubare exorto, nato Lucifero: nam proprie iubar Lucifer dicitur, quod iubas lucis effundit; unde iam quicquid splendet iubar dicitur, ut argenti, gemmarum. Est autem Lucifer interdum Iovis; [nam et antiqui 'iubar' quasi 'iuvar' dicebant;] plerumque Veneris stella, unde Veneris dicta est, ut* (8. 590) *'quem Venus ante alios astrorum diligit ignes' [alii iubar solem, alii splendorem siderum dicunt].*

Isid. 3. 70. 18, *Lucifer dictus eo quod inter omnia sidera plus lucem ferat; est autem unus e planetis. Hic proprie et iubar dicitur, eo quod iubas lucis effundat; sed et splendor solis ac lunae et stellarum iubar vocatur, quod in modum iubae radii ipsorum extendantur.*

Isidore's note here combines observations which are to be found in the vulgate and the fuller commentary combined. There is no ground for supposing that he is borrowing from Servius, nor need we go far for the common source of the note. Paulus 104 clearly points to Verrius Flaccus: *iubar stella quam Graeci appellant φωσφόρον vel ἔσπερον, hoc est Lucifer, quod splendor eius diffunditur in modum iubae leonis.*

Serv. Aen. 10. 775, *tropaeum dictum est ἀπὸ τοῦ τρέπεσθαι, id est ab hostium conversione: unde qui hostem fugasset merebatur tropaeum, qui autem occidisset, triumphum, ἀπὸ τοῦ θριαμβεύειν, id est ab exultatione.* Isidore, 10. 2. 3, *tropaeum dictum ἀπὸ τῆς τροπῆς, id est a conversione hostium et fuga. Nam ab eo quod hostem quis fugasset, merebatur tropaeum, qui occidisset, triumphum, qui dictus est ἀπὸ τῆς θριάμβης, i. e. ab exultatione. Plenae enim victoriae triumphus debetur semiplenae tropaeum . . . Tranquillus autem triumphum Latine dicit potius appellari quod is qui triumphano urbem ingrederetur tripartito iudicio honoraretur.* Here Isidore is much fuller than Servius, and gives us reason to suspect that he had Suetonius before him.

In all these cases, where the words of Isidore and Servius coincide, Thilo remarks *exscripsit Isidorus*; with what reason I leave readers to decide. As this is a case where the brick may be taken as a sample of the house, it is not necessary to quote any more instances. I will only observe that there are numberless passages where the correspondence between Isidore and Servius is only of a general kind, and where Thilo observes not *exscripsit* but *conferatur Isidorus*. In these passages, as far as I can see, the only hypothesis which can account for the correspondence is that of a community of sources. And if Isidore and Servius used the same sources in one large number of instances, it is difficult to see why they should not have done so in another; or (to put the same thing from the other side) if Isidore copied from Servius in one set of instances, why he should have refrained from doing so in another.

Let us now examine the relation of Isidore, not to the vulgate, but to the fuller version of Servius.

Thilo himself allows that there is a considerable number of passages, of which he gives a list on p. xliv, in which Isidore appears to have copied scholia from the fuller version and neglected the notes of the vulgate on the same points: nor is he disinclined to concede that in this case a community of authorities is the cause of the correspondence. As there is here no difference of opinion between us I need not dwell further on

this point. It is more important to consider in detail some passages in which the vulgate and the fuller version can be shown, by a comparison with corresponding notes in Isidore, to be homogeneous.

The first which I will take is discussed by Thilo, p. xli. Isid. 10. 260, *sequester dicitur qui certantibus medius intervenit, qui apud Graecos ὁ μέσος dicitur, apud quem pignora deponi solent. Quod vocabulum ab sequendo factum est, quod eius qui electus sit utraque pars fidem sequatur.*

Serv. Aen. 11. 133, *pace sequestra, media; nam[que] sequester est [aut] medius inter duos altercantes, [aut] apud quem aliquid ad tempus seponitur, [dictum autem a sequendo, quod eius qui electus sit utraque pars fidem sequitur.] Pacem ergo sequestram indutias dicit, i. e. pacem temporalem et mediam inter bellum praeteritum et futurum.*

I agree with Thilo that Isidore is not here borrowing from the fuller edition of Servius, but that both writers are taking from a common authority, whom I suspect to be not Lavinius Luscius *De Verbis sordidis* (Gellius, 20. 11), but Verrius Flaccus: Festus 339, *sequester is dicitur qui inter aliquos [qui certant medius], ut inter eos convenerit, [ita tenet depositum ali]quid, ut ei reddat, etc.* But the point on which stress should be laid is, that the vulgate and the fuller edition of the Servian note are here homogeneous, and there can therefore be no question of interpolation. And so with the following instances (Thilo, p. xlii):

Serv. Aen. 1. 505, *testudine, camera incurva, [id est fornicata] quae secundum eos qui scripserunt de ratione templorum ideo sic fit ut simulacro caeli imaginem reddat, quod constat esse convexum. [Quidam tradunt apud veteres omnia templa in modum testudinis facta, at vero sequenti aetate divinis simulacris positis, nihilominus in templis factas esse testudines, quod Varro ait, ut separatim esset, ubi metus esset, ubi religio administraretur. Bene ergo, cum de templo loqueretur, addidit ei testudinem. Idem Varro De Lingua Latina ad Ciceronem, 'in aedibus locus patulus relinquebatur sub divo, qui si non erat relictus et conlectus erat,*

appellabatur testudo. Cicero in Bruto, 'commentatum in quadam testudine cum servis litteratis fuisse.' Quidam testudinem locum in parte atrii volunt adversum venientibus.]

Isid. 15. 8. 8 gives an abridged version of the two notes combined, again showing that, in the common source from which both were drawn, the two formed part of the same comment. *Testudo est camera templi obliqua, nam in modum testudinis veteres templorum tecta faciebant, quae ideo sic fiebant ut caeli imaginem redderent, quod constat esse convexum. Alii testudinem volunt esse locum in parte atrii adversum venientibus.* Compare Nonius 58, *testudines sunt loca in aedificiis camerata, ad similitudinem aquatilium testudinum, quae duris tergoribus sunt et incurvis.* Vergilius Aeneidos lib. 1 (505), 'in foribus divae, media testudine templi.' Sisenna Historiarum lib. 4, 'C. Titinius quidam . . . primo ante testudinem constitit,' etc.

Serv. Aen. 8. 402, *liquido electro, [aut liquefacto aut] puro; et secundum Plinium in Naturali Historia tria sunt electri genera, unum ex arboribus, quod succinum dicitur. Aliud quod naturaliter invenitur, tertium quod fit de tribus partibus auri et una argenti; quas partes etiam si naturale resolvas invenies. Unde errant qui dicunt melius esse naturale. Electri autem natura probatur veneno, quo recepto et stridorem emittit, et varios ad similitudinem [arcus caelestis] reddit colores. [Et ad lumina in convivio clarius auro et argento lucet.]*

Isid. 16. 24, *electrum vocatum, quod ad radium solis clarius auro argentoque reluceat. Sol enim a poetis Elector vocatur. Defaecatius est enim hoc metallum omnibus metallis. Huius tria genera: unum quod ex pini arboribus fluit, quod succinum dicitur, alterum metallum quod naturaliter invenitur et in pretio habetur, tertium quod fit de tribus partibus auri et argenti una. Quas partes etiam si naturale solvas invenies. Unde nihil interest natum an factum, utrumque enim eiusdem naturae est. Electrum quod naturale est eiusdem naturae est, ut in convivio et ad lumina clarius cunctis metallis fulgeat et venenum probet. Nam si eo infundas venenum, stridorem edit et colores varios in modum arcus caelestis emittit.*

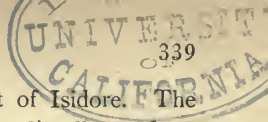
In this instance also it is clear that the vulgate and the fuller

version together make up a homogeneous note, which is given in another and slightly different form by Isidore. Its source may either be Pliny, with whose words (37. 31 ; 33. 81) much of it coincides, or some later writer, such as Suetonius, quoting and enlarging Pliny's observations.

Serv. Aen. 1. 119, *gaza Persicus sermo est, et significat divitias, [unde Gaza urbs in Palaestina dicitur, quod in ea Cambyses rex Persarum cum Aegyptiis bellum inferret divitias suas condidit.]* Isid. 15. 1. 16, *Gazam oppidum Palestinae condiderunt Evaei, in qua habitaverunt Cappadoces pristinis cultoribus interfectis. Vocata autem Gaza, eo quod ibi Cambyses rex Persarum thesauros suos posuit, cum bellum Aegyptiis intulisset, Persarum enim lingua thesaurus gaza nominatur.*

Serv. Aen. 1. 373, *annales : inter historiam et annales hoc interest ; historia est eorum temporum quae vel vidimus vel videre potuimus, dicta ἀπὸ τοῦ ἰστορεῖν, id est videre ; annales vero sunt eorum temporum quae aetas nostra non novit ; unde Livius ex annalibus et historia constat. Haec tamen confunduntur licenter, ut hoc loco pro historia inquit annales. [Ita autem annales conficiebantur : tabulam dealbatam quotannis pontifex maximus habuit, in qua praescriptis consulum nominibus et aliorum magistratuum digna memoratu notare consueverat domi militiaeque terra marique gesta per singulos dies. Cuius diligentiae annuos commentarios in octoginta libros veteres rettulerunt, eosque a pontificibus maximis a quibus fiebant annales maximos appellarunt ; unde quidam ideo dictum ab Aenea annales aiunt, quod et ipse religiosus sit et a poeta tum pontifex inducatur.]*

Isid. 1. 63. 3, *annales sunt res singulorum annorum. Quaecumque enim digna memoria domi militiaeque, mari ac terrae per annos in commentariis acta sunt, ab anniversariis gestis annales nominantur. Historia autem multorum annorum vel temporum est, cuius diligentia annui commentarii in libris delati sunt. Inter historiam autem et annales hoc interest, quod historia est eorum temporum quae vidimus, annales vero sunt eorum annorum quos aetas nostra non novit. Unde Sallustius ex historia, Eusebius et Hieronymus ex annalibus et historia constant.*



The Servian note is here fuller than that of Isidore. The substance of the whole came, as Gellius (5. 18) tells us, from Verrius Flaccus.

I could add many more similar instances; but enough has, I think, been quoted to show that there are a considerable number of cases where a note in Isidore closely resembles one only to be found in the fuller version of Servius. The hypotheses at command for explaining this phenomenon are, so far as I can see, the following: either that Isidore borrowed from the fuller version of Servius, which must therefore be at least as old as the sixth century, or the beginning of the seventh; or that the interpolator borrowed from Isidore; or that these notes were taken by Isidore and the author (or authors) of the fuller Servian commentary from the same or similar sources. Thilo rejects the first hypothesis altogether, and seems inclined to lean in some cases to the second, in some to the third. But the second assumes that the author of the additional notes was later than Isidore, which is the very point in question; and I therefore am strongly inclined to adopt the third, which Thilo himself allows to be the most natural in some cases (p. xlv). If in some cases, why not in all?

If, as I have endeavoured to show, Isidore did not borrow from Servius, but used the same authorities, it follows that the matter common to both writers can claim a very respectable antiquity, and authority in proportion; while with regard to those additional notes of Daniel's Servius, which are shown by a comparison with Isidore to be homogeneous with the vulgate, it is clear that they cannot be regarded as interpolations. Nor again is there any reason for suspecting the integrity of those which are really supplementary to the vulgate. With regard to those which are not homogeneous with the vulgate, which repeat it, or contradict it, I am unable to see that we are compelled to infer more than this, that they represent a different recension of the Servian commentary; but that they were not inserted in it until long after the time of Servius I see no grounds for believing. When we consider the general character

of the fourth century commentaries on Roman authors, such as that of Donatus on Terence and of the Pseudo-Asconius on Cicero, when we reflect that their style and manner are in the main impersonal, that they bear the clearest marks of being compiled and abridged from the numerous works of earlier scholars, and that they present the same phenomena of repetitions and general looseness and carelessness in composition, we are justified in pausing before we deny to the fuller version of Servius its right to the name which it has so long borne. The additional notes are undoubtedly drawn from the same sources as those of the vulgate; they are often homogeneous with them, and their style, though later than that of the Verona scholia, is on the whole neither earlier nor later than that of Servius.

Thilo has said but little on the sources of the Servian commentary. He does not, in my opinion, at all succeed in showing that Servius borrowed from Aelius Donatus. The memoir of Vergil which bears the name of the latter is generally attributed to Suetonius, and I have endeavoured to show, in my edition of this work, that Servius extracted his shorter biography from the fuller work of the latter, and was thus able to add details which in the memoir by Donatus are omitted. Thilo mentions a number of passages in which notes in the Servian commentary correspond with notes of Donatus on Terence. But on examining these I find that in many cases the Servian note is fuller, and that it is not seldom possible to point out an older form of the comment in Nonius, or Verrius Flaccus, or both. Nonius and Verrius, it may be observed, are hardly mentioned in Thilo's preface. Yet it is these two authors above all others who must, in my opinion, be more thoroughly studied than any others, if we would arrive at sound conclusions respecting the sources of the Latin commentaries of the fourth century.

XII.

CRITICAL MISCELLANIES.

[*Journal of Philology, and American Journal of Philology.*]

THE GRAECI ANNALES OF FABIUS PICTOR.

CICERO, *De Divinatione*, I. § 43, says, *hisque adiungatur etiam Aeneae somnium, quod in nostri Fabii Pictoris Graecis annalibus eiusmodi est, ut omnia quae ab Aenea gesta sunt, quaeque illi acciderunt, ea fuerint, quae ei secundum quietem visa sunt.* The words *Graeci annales* are usually explained as meaning ‘annals written in Greek.’ No doubt Dionysius (I. 6) mentions Fabius Pictor as one of the historians who had written in Greek on the early legends of Rome: but I submit that the words *Graeci annales*, if they are to be explained on the analogy of *Romana historia* and the like, should mean ‘Greek history’ not ‘history written in Greek.’ Cicero, *Brutus*, § 77, *historia quaedam Graeca, scripta dulcissime*: *Tusc.* 5. § 112 (quoted by Jahn), *Cn. Aufidius . . . Graecam scribebat historiam*: but *Brutus*, § 81, *A. Albinus, is qui Graece scripsit historiam.* *Graeca quaedam historia* in the first of these passages I suppose to mean ‘a certain Greek story:’ *Graecam historiam* in the second to mean ‘Greek history’ in general. Compare *Quintilian*, 2. 4. 19, *nam Graecis historiis plerumque poeticae similis licentia est.* And it is certainly strange that Cicero should nowhere else mention the fact that Fabius Pictor wrote in Greek, but should always speak of him with Cato as exemplifying the baldness of early Latin prose. I am inclined to suppose that Fabius Pictor wrote the bulk of his great work in Latin, and that the *Graeci Annales*, or Greek history, formed a separate book, in which the story of Aeneas was contained. That this was written in Greek it would be rash to doubt

in the face of the express testimony of Dionysius : but I contend that Cicero never says so. Possibly Fabius took over this part of his history from a Greek writer.

PLAUTUS.

Asinaria 391, *Clamat procul si quem videt ire ad sese calcitronem*. So Nonius, p. 44: the manuscripts of Plautus have *se*. The line as given by Nonius runs, however, better, and is probably what Plautus wrote.

701, *Demam hercle iam de hordeo, tolutim ni badizas*. So the manuscripts and Nonius, p. 4. The editors get rid of the hiatus by inserting *tibi* after *iam*. Is it possible that Plautus wrote *fordeo*?

Aulularia 625, *Simul radebat pedibus terram, et voce croccibat sua*. *Crocibat* or *Croccibat*? Goetz, Loewe, and Schöll print *crocibat*, but I have hardly any doubt that *croccibat* is right, supported as it is by *grocchibat* in the manuscripts, and *croccibat* and *crocchitum* in the best manuscripts of Nonius, though Nonius, p. 455, has *croccire*. *Croccatio* in Paulus, p. 53, may perhaps be a mistake for *croccitio*, just as in Nonius, p. 85, *liguratio* is given by the Harleian MS. for *ligurritio*. I do not, however, deny that *croccire*, *croccire*, and *croccare* may all have existed, as Loewe argues that they did (see his *Opuscula*, pp. 248–250, printed with his *Glossae Nominum* by Goetz).

Bacchides 376,

Ut celēm tibi,

Pistoclere, tua flagitia aut damna aut desidiabula?

Desidiabula is the manuscript reading, but I much prefer that of Nonius, p. 75, *dispoliabula*, 'ways of robbing.' *Dispoliare* is a good word, occurring more than once in comic writing; but it is difficult to see what is the origin of *desidiabula*, for which, by-the-by, the lexicons adduce no parallel.

Captivi 77–73, *Nam scortum in convivio Sibi Amator, talos quom iacit scortum invocat*. So B (the *Vetus Codex Camerarii*.) Goetz, followed by Sonnenschein, reads *Nam scortum in convivio*

Amator, talos quom iacit, sibi invocat. It is possible to keep nearer to the manuscript, and also to produce a more rhythmical line, by reading *nam in convivio sibi Amator . . . scortum invocat.*

156, *Quid credis? Fugitant omnes hanc provinciam*

Quod obtigerat postquam captus est Philopolemus tuus.

So B. Brix writes *Quid credis? postquam Philopolemus captus tuos Quod obtigerat, fugitant omnes hanc provinciam.* I would suggest, as an easy improvement upon the first line, *post Philopolemus quam captus tuos.*

198, *Nunc servitus si evenit, ei vos morigerari mos bonust,*

Eamque et erili imperio ingeniis vestris lenem reddere.

A very slight change will restore the metre and the sense: . . . *ei vos morigerari mos bonust, Et erili imperio: eamque* (sc. *servitatem*) *ingeniis vestris lenem reddere.*

274, *Eugepae! Thalem talento non emam Milesium.* The commentators do not find it easy to explain the point of *talento*: and again the sense requires a comparison between Thales and Philocrates. To obtain this I would suggest the following emendation: *Euge! prae tali Thalem non emam Milesium.*

417, *Nam si servos mi esses, nihilo setius*

Obsequiosus mihi fuisti semper.

The construction is impossible: I propose *quam si servos mi esses.* Compare Truculentus 341, *nemo magis respiciet . . . quam si.*

431, *Atque horum verborum causa caveto mi iratus fuas.* For *caveto* Bentley and Bothe conjecture *cave tu*: but may not the right reading be *cavito*? Servius, on Aen. 4. 409, says that Catullus used the form *cavere*. So perhaps in *Asinaria* 372, where the MSS. give *caveto ne suscenseas*, we should read *cavito*.

577, *Quid ais, furcifer? tun te gnatum memoras liberum?* Fleckeisen emends *tun memoras gnatum te esse liberum?* We should keep nearer the manuscripts by reading *tun tete gnatum memoras liberum?*

661, *Sator sartorque scelerum et messor maxume.* So the

manuscripts and editions; but the Harleian MS. of Nonius, p. 7, has preserved the true form of the verse, *sartor satorque*.

690, *Qui per virtutem peritat non interit*. So the MSS.; Nonius, p. 422, according to the Colbertinus and the second reading of the Leyden MS., has *perit aut non interit*. On this hint I would suggest *Qui per virtutem perit, abit, non interit*. Fleckeisen writes *qui per virtutem perit at non is interit*: Professor Arthur Palmer has recently proposed *qui per virtutem perit, perit at non interit*.

Epidicus 152, Nonius reads (p. 8), *aliquam inde exsolvam, extricabor aliqua*. *Plenus consili's*: at least if Quicherat may be trusted. This surely means *aliqua me inde exsolvam*. The whole line may, to Nonius, have stood *aliqua me inde exsolvam, aliqua extricabor*, etc. The palimpsest, however, has *aliqua ope exsolvar*. Goetz and his collaborateurs read *aliqua ope exsolvam*. I am, however, disposed to think that both the *ope* of the palimpsest and the *me inde exsolvam* of Nonius are glosses: and that the line should run *aliqua exsolvar, extricabor aliqua*.

Ib. 609, *Quid illud est quod caperat illi frons severitudine?* So the manuscripts and editions: but Nonius, p. 8, has *quid illud est quod illi caperrat frons severitudine?* The spelling *caperrat* is attested also by the Harleian MS. of Nonius, p. 173, and by the manuscript of Apuleius, Met. 9. 16, *caperratum supercilium*. I am therefore inclined to accept the order of the words, and the spelling, given by Nonius.

Menaechmi 1047. See p. 368 foll.

Trinummus 492, *Verum nos homunculi Satillum animai*. For *satillum* I had conjectured *vatillum*, before I knew that Loewe had proposed *batillum*: I am now glad to see that *vatillum* is accepted by Goetz and Schöll.

LUCILIUS.

1. 36, *Et mercede merent legiones*. So Lucian Müller reads, after Janus Dousa. But the words are quoted as follows by Nonius, p. 345: '*Meret, humillimum et sordidissimum quaestum*

capit . . unde et meritorii et meretrices dicuntur . . . Lucilius, lib. 1, 'et mercede meret religiones.' Porphyryon, however, on Horace, 1 Epist. 3. 6 (*quid studiosa cohors operum struit?*), says, to illustrate the metaphorical use of *cohors*, *Lucilius eos qui cum praesidibus ad salarium eunt mercede meras legiones ait.* He must therefore have read *legiones*, not *religiones*, in the passage of Lucilius, and have understood Lucilius to be using the word in a metaphorical sense, as Horace was using *cohors*. Now, by simply joining together the words *mercede* and *meras* we obtain the epithet *mercedimeras*, 'mercenary,' from *merces* and *mereo*: *Lucilius eos qui cum praesidibus ad salarium eunt mercedimeras legiones ait.* In the manuscripts of Nonius, I suppose *mercede meret religiones* to be a corruption of *mercedimerae legiones*, the last syllable of *merae* (*merē*) having been repeated and merged into the following word, and *merēlegiones* having thus become *meret religiones*.

GAIUS GRACCHUS.

Gellius, 15. 12, quotes the following words from this orator: *Si ulla meretrix domum meam introivit, aut cuiusquam servulus propter me sollicitatus est, omnium nationum postremissimum nequissimumque existimatote.* *Omnium nationum* is the manuscript reading. The corrupt *nationum* has been variously emended, by Lipsius into *natorum*, by Gronovius into *latronum*, by Beloe into *hominum natorum*. Of these conjectures *natorum* is clearly the best from a palaeographical point of view; but it seems doubtful whether *omnium natorum* or *hominum natorum* would be good Latin, though *nemo natus* is. Besides, the adjectives *postremissimum nequissimumque* would have more point, if the word with which they were joined connoted some definite quality. Compare Sallust, Hist. 1. 48. 3 (Dietsch), *M. Aemilius, omnium flagitiosorum postremus*: 4. 61. 12, *incepta mea postremus servorum Archelaus exercitu prodito impedivit.* From this point of view Gronovius's *latronum* is more suitable to the context than *natorum*. I would, however, propose *raponum*. Nonius, p. 26, *rapones a rapiendo dicti*: Varro, *Papia papae, περι ἑγκωμίων*:

praetor vester eripuit mihi pecuniam: de eo questum ad annum veniam ad novum magistratum, cum hic rapo umbram quoque spei devorassit. *Raponum* would be palaeographically almost as good as *natorum*, and more pointed perhaps than *latronum*. It should be noticed also that Varro uses it of a provincial governor.

VARRO, RES RUSTICA¹.

1. 2. 9. *Nam Stolonis illa lex* (Schneider). For *Stolonis* we should perhaps read *Stolonis est* (*Stolonisst.*)

1. 2. 10. *Alterum collegam tuum, viginti vir qui fuit* (Schneider). The best manuscript as reported by Politian gives rightly *viginti virum qui fuit*. Compare Cato, *Orat.* 40. 3 (Jordan), *trium virum si sim*.

Huiusce, inquam, pomaria summa sacra via ubi poma veneunt contra auream imaginem (Schneider). Keil (in his *Observations on Varro and Cato*) has rightly restored, from the best manuscripts, *contra aurum imago* for *contra auream imaginem*. Scaliger conjectured *contra aurum, id est magno*. *Contra aurum* is a phrase used of things that sell 'for their weight in gold.' If Scaliger's emendation be adopted, we must of course with him regard *id est magno* as a gloss on *contra aurum*, and expunge *imago* from the text. Keil formerly wished to write the whole passage thus: *Huiusce, inquam, pomarium summæ sacrae viae, ubi poma veneunt contra aurum, imago*; 'his orchard is a copy of the head of the *Via Sacra*, where apples are sold for their weight in gold.' The same, or nearly the same, sense may, however, be elicited from the words if we adopt the reading of the *editio princeps*, *pomarii* for *pomaria*. The sentence will then run thus: *Huiusce, inquam, pomarii summā sacra viā, ubi poma veneunt contra aurum, imago*; 'you may get a notion of his orchard on the top of the *Via Sacra*,' etc. (So now Keil.)

1. 4. 2. *Nemo enim non eadem utilitate non formosius quod est emere mavult pluris quam si est fructuosus turpis* (Schneider). The masculines *fructuosus* and *turpis* have nothing to agree

¹ Keil's edition of this work appeared while this sheet was passing through the press.

with, and I should therefore propose to read *quam si, etsi fructuosius, turpest*; 'than if, though more profitable, it is ugly.' The reading before Victorius, *quam si est fructuosius turpe*, gave much the same sense. Ryck conjectured *fructuosius turpius*.

1. 13. 7. Varro is speaking of the ruinous size of private villas, *pessimo publico aedificatae*. Schneider gives the following version of his words:

Ac cum Metelli ac Luculli villis pessimo publico aedificatis certant. Quo hi laborant ut spectent sua aestiva triclinaria ad frigus orientis, hiberna ad solem occidentem, potius quam, ut antiqui, in quam partem cella vinaria aut olearia fenestras haberet, cum fructus in ea vinarius quaerat ad dolia aëra frigidiorum ita olearia calidiorum. For *quo hi* (the best manuscript had *quod hi*) Keil formerly wished to write *qui*: but *quo hi* might stand as an interrogative, 'to what purpose do these men toil?' For the last part of the sentence, which, as Schneider gives it, is hardly translatable, I would propose, for want of a better, the following emendation: *Cum fructus quaerat ut ad vinaria dolia aëra frigidiorum, ita ad olearia calidiorum.*

1. 24. 3. *Quod Cato ait circum fundum ulmos et populos . . . seri oportere, sed hoc neque*, etc. Either *oportet* should be inserted after *oportere* (*quod Cato ait . . . oportere, oportet*;) or *sed* should be omitted.

1. 40. 1. *Et si aqua quae influit in agrum inferre solet*. Perhaps Varro wrote *et si qua aqua, quae influit in agrum, inferre solet*.

1. 59. 1. *De pomis: conditiva mala struthea*, etc. The passage should be differently punctuated: *de pomis conditiva: mala struthea*, etc. (So now Keil.)

2. 1. 19. *Dicuntur agni chordi qui . . . remanserunt in volvis intimis. Vocant χορίον a quo chordi appellantur*. Between *intimis* and *vocant* Keil formerly wished to insert *nam Graeci cutem in qua inclusi haerent in volvis intimis vocant χορίον*. There seems no need to assume the existence of so large a lacuna, but it is possible that after *intimis* the words *in iis* or *in his* have fallen out. If so, the sentence should run, *in volvis intimis. In iis* (or *in his*) *vocant χορίον*, etc.

2. 1. 23. *Ne frigus caedat. Laedat* should be read with Ursinus, *l* having been probably confused with *t* and then with *c*. (So now Keil.)

2. 2. 8. *Subicere oportet virgulta alia, quo mollius requiescant.* For *alia* I would propose *alta*.

2. 4. 17. *Si minus pariat, fructuariam idoneam non esse.* Here an indication of a quotation seems to have dropped out, it being very awkward to carry on *oportet* (in a different sense) from the preceding clause, *parere tot oportet porcos quot mammas habeat*.

2. 9. 16. The oldest manuscript gives *si alter videm fiter aeger est*. Scaliger, rejecting the reading which Schneider adopts, *si alter indesinenter aeger est*, conjectured *si alter itidem uter*. Would not the corrupt words of the manuscript be better represented by *si alteruter ut interdum fit aeger est?*

2. 10. 4. *In emptionibus dominum legitimum sex fere res perficiunt: aut . . . aut . . . tumve cum in bonis sectioneve cuius sub corona emit. Tumve* is manifestly wrong, and I should propose to read for it *sextum (virtum)*.

3. 2. 3. *Sed non haec, inquit, villa quam aedificarunt maiores nostri, frugalior ac melior est quam tua illa perpolitata in Reatino. Nuncubi hic vides citrum aut aurum?* etc. A note of interrogation should be placed after *Reatino*. (So now Keil.)

3. 2. 16. *Reliquis annis omnibus et hanc expectabis summam, . . . neque hoc accidit his moribus nisi raro ut decipiaris.* For *et* I would read *ait*, and for *accidit* *accidet*. *Reliquis annis omnibus, ait, hanc expectabis summam, neque hoc accidet his moribus*, etc.

3. 4. 1. *Ut aiunt post principia in castris. Ut aiunt in castris, post principia?* Scaliger would read, *Ego vero, inquit, a principis, ut in castris*.

3. 5. 14. *Circum falere et navalia sunt excavata anatum stabula.* Read *circum falere, ut navalia, sunt excavata*, etc.

3. 16. 22. The oldest manuscript gives *aut inopiam esse habuisse dicitis ait cum sint apes. Esse* has been emended into *escae*; but the passage is not yet healed. It is possible that a quotation has been omitted, and that there is a lacuna: *inopiam*

escae . . . habuisse dicit. Is ait, cum sint. I find that Scaliger proposed *nec cum animadverterint haud inopiam esse, abivisse dicit. Is ait,* etc. referring *is* to Menecrates.

3. 17. 2. *Alterum (piscinarum genus) et sine fructu.* Read *alterum, nec sine fructu*, which gives the sense required.

VARRO, SATURAE.

Mutuum Muli, περί ψωρισμοῦ, ap. Non. p. 115, s. v. *grallatores*. The manuscripts give the quotation as follows: *Grallatores qui gradiuntur perticae ligne finaremolet ab homine eo qui in istat angitantur sicilianimi nostri sunt grallae crura ac pedes nostri essiare κίνητοι sed ab animo moventur.* The passage has been variously corrected, all scholars agreeing now to begin the sentence with *ut*, which is to correspond with *sic*. Bücheler, in his Petronius and Varro's *Saturae* (p. 195 in his edition of 1871), gives the passage as follows: *Ut grallatores qui gradiuntur, perticae sunt ligna φύσει ἀκίνητα, sed ab homine eo qui instat agitantur, sic illi animi nostri sunt grallae [crura ac pedes nostri] φύσει ἀκίνητοι, sed ab animo moventur.*

I suspect that *grallatores qui gradiuntur* are the words of Nonius: compare Paulus, p. 119 (Müller), *grallatores appellabuntur qui . . . gradiebantur*. If so, the rest can be corrected without any violent changes as follows: *Perticae lignae . . . ambuli ab homine eo qui in iis stat (so Muretus) agitantur: sic illa animi nostri sunt grallae, crura ac pedes nostri; ipsi (for essi = issi) ἀκίνητοι, sed ab animo moventur.* *Finaremolet* I suppose to be not a Greek word, but some compound of *-ambulus*: perhaps *lignambuli*, which might, I suppose, be a translation of *καλοβάτου*.

CICERO.

Tusc. 4, § 16. *Voluptati (subiecta sunt) malevolentia laetans malo alieno, delectatio, iactatio et similia.* Thus the passage is given in the manuscripts of Nonius, p. 16, s. v. *lacto* = 'to inveigle.' Cicero is apparently translating the passage of Stoical doctrine

given by Diogenes Laertius, 7. 114, ἡδονή, ὑφ' ἣν τάττεται κήλησις, ἐπιχαιρεκακία, τέρψις κ.τ.λ. It is clear that *malevolentia laetans malo alieno* answers to ἐπιχαιρεκακία, and that it was therefore a mistake on the part of the editors before Quicherat to change *laetans* into *lactans*. But in that case what is the point of quoting the passage, as Nonius does, to illustrate *lactare*? *Lactare*, I reply, was illustrated by *lactatio*, which we should substitute for *iactatio*, and which stands for the Greek κήλησις, 'allurement,' 'enticement.'

Pro Murena, § 42. *Quid tua sors? Tristis, atrox: quaestio peculatus, ex altera parte lacrimarum et squaloris, ex altera plena catenarum atque indicum.* *Catenarum* is generally given up by the editors. If an emendation is required, I would suggest *calendariorum*, 'account books:;' but possibly *catenarum* might stand in the sense of 'legal snares or devices or securities,' as Horace says *adde Cicutae Nodosi tabulas centum, mille adde catenas.*

Pro Cluentio, § 82. The two best manuscripts read *an ad ipsum cubile, vobis iudicibus, venire possumus?* The other manuscripts, followed by Baiter, give *ducibus* for *indicibus*. The true reading I suspect to be *indicibus*: comp. In Verrem, 2. 1, § 105, *an, qua est ipse sagacitate in his rebus, sine duce ullo, sine indice, pervenerit ad hanc improbitatem, nescio.*

OVID.

Ibis, 291, *Utque parum mitis, sed non impune, Prometheus
Aërias volucres sanguine fixus alas.*

Parum mitis is translated by Mr. Ellis 'that failed in his philanthropy.' But is this the natural interpretation of the words? Merkel conjectures *operum mitis*, which again seems to me strained. I would propose *parens ignis*: 'the inventor of fire, but to his cost.' Compare Horace's *curvaeque lyrae parentem.*

315, *Utque necatorum Darei fraude secundi,
Sic tua subsidens devoret ossa cinis.*

For *subsidens*, which it is not easy to explain satisfactorily, the

Gale manuscript, as reported by Mr. Ellis, gives *succindens*, while *succendens* and *succedens* are also found. *Succindens* or *succendens*, I think, must be right, *succindeo* coming from *sub* and *candeo*, 'to glow underneath.'

I may add that the Gale manuscript (G.) also seems to preserve the right reading in the following passages :

110, *Destituant oculos sidera clara tuos : lumina* G. : compare Georgic 1. 5, *vos O clarissima mundi Lumina. Sidera* may well be a gloss.

137, *Robora dum montes, dum mollia pabula campi,
Dum Tiberis liquidas Tuscus habebit aquas.*

Mitia G. : compare Met. 2. 288, *Quod pecori frondes alimenta-
taque mitia, fruges Humano generi, vobis quoque tura ministro?*
5. 342, *Prima dedit fruges alimenta-que mitia terris : 15. 478, Ora
vacent epulis, alimenta-que mitia carpant : 14. 690, Nec, quas hortus
alit, cum sucis mitibus herbas.*

159, *Verbera saeva dabunt sonitum, nexaeque colubris
Conscia fumabunt semper ad ora faces.*

Colubrae G. rightly : compare (with Merkel) Met. 4. 492,
motae sonuere colubrae.

641, *Pauca quidem fateor, sed di dent plura rogatis. Di tibi
plura rogatis* G. : rightly, I think : compare Georgic 3. 513, *Di
meliora piis, erroremque hostibus illum.*

PAULUS.

P. 119 (Müller), *Grallatores appellabantur pantomimi, qui, ut
in saltatione imitentur Aegipanas, adiectis perticis furculas
habentibus atque in iis superstantes, ob similitudinem crurum eius
generis, gradiebantur, etc.* For *pantomimi*, which is not an
accurate description, I would read *panomimi*, 'imitators of Pan.'

Festus, p. 273, s. v. *redamptruare. Pacuvius : proaererenda
gratia : simul cum videam.* I would read for *proaererenda*, not
promererenda, with Ursinus, but *pro referenda*, and take the words
pro referenda gratia as referring to the usage of *redamptruare*.

The whole then would run, *pro referenda gratia* : *Pacuvius*, etc. See the gloss on *redamptruare*, quoted p. 358.

SUETONIUS.

Vita Horatii: *Praeterea* (*Augustus*) *saepe eum inter alios iocos purissimum pene* (or *paene*) *et homuncionem lepidissimum appellabat*. Muretus, followed by modern editors, wrote *purissimum penem*, the point or meaning of which I am unable to discover. I should propose for *purissimum* to read with Lambinus *putissimum* (comp. Gloss. Philox. *puti*, *μικροί*, *putus* *μικρός*, and Ps.-Verg. Catalepton, *dispeream nisi me perdidit iste putus*) and for *paene paegnium*, the name of the little boy in the *Persa* of Plautus. Compare Captivi 984 (*parvolus*) *Paegnium vocitatust*.

NONIUS.

P. 44, s. v. *pandere*. (*Varro*) *De Vita Populi Romani lib. 1*, ‘*Hanc deam Aelius putat esse Cererem*,’ etc. For *hanc deam* I suggest *Pandam deam*, as the name is required: see Arnobius, 4. 3.

P. 46, *Vulpinari dictum est fraudibus et mendaciis vera pervertere: dictum ab inrectum sed intorto vulpium cursu. Inrectum sed* the Harleian: Quicherat reads *inrecto*. For *inrectum sed* I propose *anfractuoso et*.

DIOMEDES.

P. 365 (Keil), *Tranquillus quoque his adsentiens in libello suo plenissime edere incohata disseruit*. As the discussion is on the word *incohare*, I propose to read *plenissime de re incohata disseruit*.

PLACIDUS AND GLOSSARIES.

[These notes are arranged, for greater convenience, in alphabetical order. The pages referred to in the case of Placidus are those of Deuerling's edition. *Gloss. Philox.* = the Latin-Greek Glossary wrongly bearing the name of Philoxenus, as edited by Vulcanius in 1600: *Gloss. Amplon.* = the glosses edited by Oehler (*Neue Jahrbucher*, 1847) from manuscripts in the Ampsonian Library at Erfurt; *H. G.* = the Berne glosses quoted in Hagen's *Gradus ad Criticam*.]

Aedituus, *qui aedis est custos . . . editissima vero loca montosa* (Placidus, p. 1). To balance *editissima* read *aeditimus*.

Aeruscans (or *aeruscus*) *aes minutum*. *Accurate construens* (or *colligens*) (Placidus, p. 1.) So the manuscripts. Deuerling reads (after Müller), *Aeruscans, aes minutum [colligens]*. *Accurate † construens*. Comparing, however, Paulus, p. 24, *aeruscare, aera undique, id est pecunias, colligere*, I think it most probable that in the text of Placidus two glosses have been made out of one, and that all we have to do is to put them together thus: *aeruscans, aes minutum accurate construens*.

S. v. *Agoniae* (Placidus, p. 12). *Hostiarum autem [immolatione] deos aequos fieri, id est propitios, praeter antiquos agebant*. Perhaps *preces antiquae significant* (or *docebant*?).

Arceram vehiculum in arcae modum confixum, non utique plastrum id est carrum (Placidus, p. 9). For *non utique* read *munitumque*: compare Gellius, 20. 1. 29, *arcera autem vocabatur plastrum tectum undique et munitum*.

Bardum, hebetem, stolidum, bretendum (Placidus, p. 14). For *bretendum* Deuerling reads *brutum*: I propose *Graece βραδόν*: Paulus, p. 34, *bardus . . . trahitur . . . a Graeco quod illi βραδός dicunt*: compare Nonius, p. 10.

Caesditum creditum (Placidus, p. 25). For *caesditum* Deuerling rightly prints *caesicium*: for *creditum* Christ writes *cretatum*: would not *candidum* be better? Nonius, p. 539, *caesicium linteolum dicitur purum et candidum*.

Caltulum cinguli genus a coacto loro (or *lore*) *calte* (or *calce*). So Placidus, p. 30, according to the MSS. Deuerling prints a *coacto loro caltulae*. It is true that Isidore, 19. 33. 4, says *caltulum a coacto loro dictum*: but Nonius, p. 548, has the words *caltulam et crocotulam utrumque a generibus florum translatum*. It is then not improbable, considering that the manuscripts of Placidus have *calte*, not *caltulae*, that the gloss, both of Placidus and Isidore, should be written *caltulum vocatum a colore callae*: the words *a coacto loro* or *lare* standing for *vocatum a colore*.

Caperassere, inrugare (or *in ruga gassere*), *in rugas contrahi* (Placidus, p. 29). For *caperassere* I propose *caperrare* (see p. 343) and *in ruga gassere* (which is the reading of the Corsianus)

may perhaps stand for *in rugas asperare*: compare Nonius, p. 8, *caperrare est rugis frontem contrahere et asperare*.

Cassae aerumnae (Placidus, p. 28). I conjecture *casses, araneae*. Servius on Aen. 11. 105, *vestimenta araneorum casses dicimus*. Schol. Bern. Georg. 4. 247, *notandum araneorum texta casses dicta, cum casses proprie dicantur quidam sinus ex modico reti facti . . . feras decipiunt*.

Caevntia, fama, laus boni (Amplon. p. 291. 13). Read *cluentia* from *cluēre*, comparing the proper name *Cluentius*¹.

Circumerrant, circum vagant (H. G. p. 12). *Vagant*, a form attested by Nonius, p. 467, need not be changed (as Hagen changes it) into *vagantur*, and the like may be said of *vagamus* and *vagant* on p. 13 of the same work. Nor again on p. 15 need *trutinatur* be changed into *trutinat*.

Cis Rhenum, citra (so Deuerling rightly for *intra*) *Rhenum; coniecturae factae* (Placidus, p. 22). Here two glosses have apparently been confused into one; the second should run *confecturae σφαγαί*. *Confector* (see the lexicons) is used by Suetonius in the sense of 'a slaughterer,' and *confectorarius* and *confectorarius* are quoted from inscriptions.

Coicere, coijcere (or *coniescere*), *coercere*. So Placidus, p. 24, according to the manuscripts. Deuerling emends *coicere, conicere, coercere*. I propose *coinquere, compescere, coercere*: Paulus, p. 65, *coinquere, coercere*.

Comitia dicuntur tempora bonorum (H. G. p. 47). Read *honorum*, comparing *comitia honores* in the Epinal Glossary.

Concludere suleos. Sulcus est aratri ductio quo veteres fundamento dirigebant (H. G. p. 19). Hagen emends *concludere sulcos*: I would read *concludere sulco* (Aen. 1. 425), and *fundamenta* for *fundamento*.

Conivolis, crebro nutantibus (Placidus, p. 28). So the *liber glossarum*; but the manuscripts of Placidus have *crevronitatibus*, which probably stands for *crebro nictantibus*. See Löwe, *Pro-*

¹ Since this was written I have found that Löwe proposed the same correction: *Glossae Nominum*, p. 26.

dromus Glossariorum, p. 15, where a gloss *conivolis frequenter nutantibus* is rightly emended *c. f. nictantibus*.

Conlocare deputare (Placidus, p. 25). *Conlucare*: Paulus, p. 37, *conlucare dicebant cum profanae silvae rami deciderentur officientes lumini*.

Cuturno fasto (H. G. p. 50). Hagen proposes *cothurno, fastu*. Perhaps *gutturneum, flasco*: Placidus, p. 49, *gutturneo, gutto*: Paulus, p. 98, *gutturrium, vas ex quo aqua in manus datur*.

Ebullerent exponerent (H. G. p. 81). Read *ebullirent expirarent*: Schol. Pers. 2. 10, *ebullire autem proprie expirare*.

Echo Graecum nomen est. Est autem imago vocis quae in concavis locis resultat offensa ac resonat . . . Appellatus est autem ut Herculem, Liberum patrem, Castorem et Pollucem pagani dicunt (Placidus, p. 38). The last part of this gloss has evidently nothing to do with Echo. Some god or hero in the masculine gender, whose name begins with *E*, is required, who may be placed in the same category with Hercules, Liber, Castor and Pollux. Such a personage presents himself in the shape of Aeneas written *Eneas*. Servius, Aen. 6. 134 (*bis Stygios innare lacus*), says *bis, modo et post mortem: quod autem dicit Ovidius Aeneam inter deos relatum, non mirum est. Nam, ut supra diximus, necesse est etiam relatorum inter deos apud inferos esse simulacra, ut Herculis, Liberi Patris, Castoris et Pollucis*. Horace, 2 Epist. 1. 5, speaks of *Romulus et Liber pater et cum Castore Pollux*, and soon after mentions Hercules in the same connection.

Ergastulum! privata custodia carcer metallum vel locus ubi damnati marmora secant vel aliquid operantur, quod Latine taberna dicitur (H. G. p. 67). Two glosses are here confused, one on *ergastulum*, the other (which should begin before *aliquid operantur*) on *ergasterium*: thus, *ergasterium [locus ubi] aliquid operantur*, etc. Placidus, p. 37, has separate glosses on the two words, that on *ergasterium* running thus: *ergasterium Graecus sermo est, id est operarium, ubi opus fit, vel taberna, ubi alicuius operis exercitia geruntur*.

Faratria, fertilem (H. G. p. 2). Read *feretrium*: Gloss. Amplon. p. 332, *feretrium fertilem*. Gloss. Epinal, *feretrius fertilis*.

Farcimen, ipsa species (Gloss. Amplon. and Epinal). Read *isicii species* (or perhaps *ensicii*, which is another form of the word).

Fariolus, vates (H. G. p. 25). *Fariolus* is altered by Hagen, but it may be right: Terentius Scaurus, p. 13 (Keil), *quem antiqui fariolum, nos hariolum*.

Feronia, dea cogorum (H. G. p. 14). Hagen reads *Tuscorum*; perhaps *lucorum*: Aen. 7. 800, *viridi gaudens Feronia luco*.

Ferratas crudes (H. G. p. 57). *Trudes*: Aen. 5. 208.

Fessam aetate femem, vel fassum sine viribus (H. G. p. 25). Read *fessum aetate, senem, vel lassum, sine viribus*. Aen. 2. 596, *fessum aetate parentem*.

Fluctuans! undam natans (H. G. p. 21). Read *fluctuans, undans, natans*.

Gnaricantionum, sermonum (Placidus, p. 50). So the manuscripts of Placidus: the *liber glossarum*, however, gives *gnarificationum*, which Deuerling adopts. I should prefer to read *gnarigationum*: Paulus, p. 95, *gnarigavit significat apud Livium narravit*.

In burim, in curvationem (Placidus, p. 59). Deuerling would change *in burim* into *imburvum*: but there is no need for this: see Servius and Philargyrius on Georg. 1. 170, *domatur In burim*.

In ludicro, res quae de luto dantur (H. G. p. 17). Hagen would change *ludicro* into *lubrico*. I would propose *Ludicrae res, quae de ludo dantur*, supposing *in* to be due to a repetition of the first syllable of *ludicro*: compare Servius, Aen. 12. 764, *ludicra praemia, vilia, digna ludo*.

In mundo, in expedito vel ad manum, in procinctu (Placidus, p. 58). Here two glosses are probably confused, the second of which began with *in procinctu*. For *in mundo* is not synonymous with *in procinctu*, and Paulus, p. 109, has separate notes on the two phrases.

Incubitus dicitur ab incumbendo sive iacendo sive aliena cupiendo (Placidus, p. 55). This note requires no alteration, such as has been suggested by Deuerling and recently by Mr. Onions; for Servius, on Aen. 1. 89, says *incubare dicitur . . . aliena per vim velle tenere*.

Inextricabilis! error laber intus (H. G. p. 107). Not (with Hagen) *inextricabilis error, labor invictus*, but *inextricabilis error, labyrinthus*: Aen. 6. 27, *Hinc labor ille domus et inextricabilis error*.

Inprolis, nondum vir (H. G. p. 39). Hagen would read *inpubes*, which is unnecessary; Marius Victorinus, p. 20 (Keil), *inproles enim est qui nondum vir est*.

Iactatus, inductus, captus (Placidus, p. 59). Read *lactatus*; Paulus, p. 107, *lactit, unde lactat*. Nonius, p. 16, *lactare est inducere vel mulcere, velle decipere*. (This emendation has also been made by Löwe.)

Iam parvi tenebant! iam ad terras veniebant (H. G. p. 4). For *parvi* Hagen conjectures *portum*. But we should probably read *iamque arva tenebant* (Aen. 2. 209).

Iurgio, incursatione (Placidus, p. 59). Probably for *iurgio, iuris actione*: Paulus, p. 103, *iurgatio, iuris actio*.

Iurgo glutto (H. G. p. 35). *Gurgo* Hagen: more probably *lurcho*.

Lexa luxuriosa (H. G. p. 19). *Luxa* (?). Paulus, p. 119, *luxa membra e suis locis mota et soluta, a quo luxuriosus, in re familiari solutus*. So Nonius, p. 55, Isidore, 10. 160.

Limo solatio, cenoso stagno (H. G. p. 38). Not (with Hagen) *lutoso loco*, but *limoso lacu* (Aen. 2. 135).

Lumine tergo, truci, terribili (H. G. p. 58). Not *taetro* (with Hagen), but *torvo*: Aen. 3. 677, *cernimus adstantes nequiquam lumine torvo*.

Lupercus sacerdos gentilium qui deus archanum sacra fani celebrat (H. G. p. 1). *Fauni* Hagen rightly for *fani*: for the rest read *sacra Fauni celebrat, qui deus Arcadum*.

Magmentum . . . Cornutus, quicquid mactus, id est quicquid distrahitur (Placidus, p. 66, according to the MSS.). For *mactus* Deuerling prints *maclatur*: I propose *macitur*, from *maco* 'to mutilate.'

Manas, malas, maxillas (Placidus, p. 67). Probably a confusion of two glosses, the first of which began *Manias* (see Paulus, p. 128) and the second *malas, maxillas*.

Nebulonem, bonum vel levem (H. G. p. 69). Read *vanum vel levem*: Donatus on Eun. 2. 2. 38, *nebulonem, vel quia nebulas obiciat, . . . vel inanem et vanum, ut nebula est.*

Nixantem, saepius natantem (H. G. p. 6). Hagen proposes *saepius nutantem*. I would read *saepius nitentem*, and refer the gloss to Aen. 5. 279, *nixantem nodis seque in sua membra plicantem.*

Parioletus! divinatus (H. G. p. 52). Probably *fariolatus*: compare *fariolus* above.

Pegaso, homo iocularis: so Gloss. Hild., Gloss. ap. Mai Cl. Auct. vols. 6 and 7. Gloss. Amplon. (p. 366) and Epinal give *pegaso homo iacularis*, Gloss. Amplon. p. 369 *polimio graece homo vanus*. The true reading I suspect to be *paegnio, homo iocularis*.

Postera aura, frequens dies (H. G. p. 26). Hagen rightly emends *frequens* into *sequens*: I would read *aurora* for *aura*.

Protenus! confestim . . . acutum (H. G. p. 44). Read *actutum* for *acutum*.

Recidivina, renascentia a morte aut vetustate renovata: vel ex ruinis in integrum restituta (H. G. p. 99). This gloss is a confusion of two, one on *recidiva*, the other on *rediviva*. Read *recidiva, renascentia a morte. Rediviva, ex vetustate renovata.* Festus, p. 273, *redivivum, ex vetusto renovatum.*

Redandare, gratiam referre (H. G. p. 97). Read *redantruare*: Nonius, p. 165, *redantruare reddere*: compare Fest. p. 273, (*redamptuare*) *pro referenda gratia*: Pacuvius: '*simul cum video Graios nihil mediocriter Redamptuare, opibusque summis persequi.*'

Sertis, floribus, coronis. Subtilis vel ardua loca sive rocce in mare (H. G. p. 24). For *subtilis*, which seems to be the beginning of a second gloss, I would read *subices*: Nonius, p. 168, Gellius, 4. 17, *Ennius in tragoedia quae Achilles inscribitur subices pro aëre alto posuit*: compare Festus, p. 305, *subices Ennius in Achille . . . posuit cum dixit nubes.*

Sochors! hebes vanus stultus neglegens fictuus (i. e. *fatuus*) *vel le inter incedens* (H. G. p. 38). For *le inter* I would read not *leviter* (Hagen), but *leniter*.

Tabes, cruor, sanguis (Placidus, p. 84). This gloss looks like

a corrupt abbreviation of a note in which *tabus*, *cruor*, and *sanguis* were distinguished: Schol. Veron. on Aen. 8. 106 (from Asper): *cruor proprie dicitur, nam quamdiu in corpore est, sanguis est, cum fluit cruor, cum exiit tabus est.*

Valus, qui pedibus iunctis ambulat (H. G. p. 40). Not *varus* (Hagen), but *vatius*.

Versibus, callidus, artificiosus (H. G. p. 37). Read (not *versutus* with Hagen, but) *persibus*: Varro, L. L. 7. 107, *sub hoc (verbo persibus) glossema 'callide' subscribunt*: Festus, p. 217, quotes the word from Plautus; compare Paulus, p. 336, *sibus callidus sive acutus*.

FOUR OXFORD MANUSCRIPTS OF THE *ORIGINES* OF ISIDORE¹.

[Read before the *Oxford Philological Society*.]

THESE MSS. are (1) one of the ninth century, in the library of Queen's College, which contains only half the work; (2) one of the twelfth century, in the library of Oriel College; (3) one of the thirteenth century, in the library of Balliol College; (4) one of the eleventh century, in the library of Trinity College.

They appear to represent two distinct editions or versions of the *Etymologiae*, characterised respectively (*a*) by a different arrangement of the early chapters of the first book, (*b*) by the presence or absence of certain *lacunae*, especially in the tenth and nineteenth books, (*c*) by the exhibition of different readings. One of these recensions is represented by the Queen's College and Trinity MSS. (R and T), the other by the Oriel and Balliol MSS. (B and O), of which the Oriel MS. appears to be decidedly the better.

(*a*) With regard to the arrangement of the first book, the Queen's College MS. gives in its index an order different from

¹ My attention was called to these manuscripts by Mr. F. Madan, one of the Sub-librarians of the Bodleian and late Fellow of Brasenose College.

that which is followed in its text. The order given in the index is as follows :

1. *De disciplina et arte.*
2. *De septem liberalibus disciplinis.*
3. *De grammatica.*
4. *De partibus orationis.*
5. *De voce.*
6. *De litteris, etc.*

But as a fact the arrangement which it follows is—

1. *De disciplina et arte.*
2. *De septem liberalibus disciplinis.*
3. *De litteris.*
4. *De grammatica.*
5. *De partibus orationis.*
6. *De voce.*

This arrangement is given by T both in index and text. B and O, however, follow in their text the arrangement given in the index of R.

The arrangement given by B and O is, it should be remarked, in harmony with that proposed by Isidore himself in the section *De Grammatica*, and therefore almost certainly right : *divisiones autem artis grammaticae a quibusdam dinumerantur . . . partes orationis octo, vox articulata, littera.* No notice of the difference of arrangement is taken either by Arevalo or Otto.

(b) B and O also differ from R in exhibiting certain *lacunae*, of which the following are instances :—

1. 38. 13. *Dicentes, ut ait Terentianus, ΙΕΠΙΛΙΑΝΙ · ΕΗΥΙΑΝ.* Then follows a *lacuna* of a line and a half. O.

5. 27. 12. After the words *ex genere vinculorum* B has a *lacuna* of a line and a half, O of rather more than a line.

10. 54. After *captus* B has a *lacuna* of a line and a half, O of two lines. Similar *lacunae* of less or greater length are found in these MSS., but not in R, and in the following places :

10. 59. After *crispus, claudus, and curvus.*

10. 68. After *dulcis* : in the same passage after *et decibilis* B, O have *decibilis* and then a *lacuna* ; R *autem decibilis* without a *lacuna*.

10. 105. After *fremens*, where R has no *lacuna*.
10. 110. After *fornicarius*.
10. 113. After *grandis*. Then B and O have a gloss which is not in R, *gallostromus, discurrens et fraude decipiens*.
10. 126. After *idoneus*.
10. 150. B and O give *impostor, occulte se (or sed) immittens. Interceptor proprie dicitur*, etc. R omits the words *occulte . . . immittens*.
10. 156. After *largus*.
10. 162. After *languidus*.
10. 168. After *quasi mutus*.
10. 171. After *maior* and *minor*. The *lacuna* after *minor* is succeeded by the words *mango, fraude decipiens*, which are omitted in R.
10. 204. After *perpetuus*.
10. 207. After *primus* and *postremus*.
10. 212. After *perseverans*.
10. 232. After *quaestor, quaestuosus, and querimoniosus*.
10. 242. After *supremas partes dicimus* B and O have *suavis*, and then a *lacuna*.
10. 259. After *sospes*.
10. 268. After *tristis*.
10. 269. After *truculentus*.
11. 93. After *scapula*.
12. 5. 15. After *lendes*.
12. 6. 44. After *congrus*.
12. 8. 4. After *vespae*.
14. 4. 16. After *Lacedaemonia*.
15. 1. 37. After *Caesaream Cappadociae*.
17. 9. 80. After *portulaca*.
17. 11. 7. After *abrotonum* and *cerefolium*.
19. 5. 3. After *nassa*.
19. 17. 15. Between the words *ex creta argentaria cum*, and *purpuris pariter tingitur*.
19. 18. 3. After *vel luto lapides, marcellus, and machina*.
19. 19. 6. After *agrantes*.

19. 19. 15. After *canterium* and *guvia* or *cuvia*. After this last *lacuna* B and O add *simia* (B), *cuiua* (O), i. e. *ventosa*; see 4. 11. 3, *guva, quae a Latinis a similitudine cucurbita, a suspirio ventosa vocatur.*

19. 22. 1. *Amictus* is inserted after *intumentum*, and then follows a *lacuna*.

19. 22. 13. A *lacuna* after *apocalama*.

19. 26. 2. After *galnapes*.

19. 27. 1. Between the words *id est* and *a vellendo*.

19. 28. 8. After *blatteum, blarum, and masticismum*.

20. 2. 19. After *simila* and *pollines*.

20. 3. 12. After *lorea*.

20. 6. 3. After *cantharus*.

(c) An inspection of a few passages enables us also to state that there are important differences of reading which mark the two families of MSS. The following are specimens:

1. 3. 4. *Ut nosse possimus, R; possemus, B, O.*

9. 5. 49. *Isti quos sub se diximus, R, T; sub secunda, B, O.* (*Sub se*, it may be observed, is a mistake for *subesse*, which occurs in the identical note of Placidus on the same point.)

9. 5. 50. *Quod bellum primo manu incipiebant, R, T; primo mane, B, O.*

10. 21. *Aequimanus appellatur utraque manu gaudium tenens, R; aequimanus appellatur qui gladium vel quodlibet genus expedibile* (so O; *expectabile, B*) *utraque manu incunctanter utens, B, O.*

10. 102. *Formidolosus a formidine, id est a sanguine dictus, R; formidolosus a formo, id est a sanguine dictus, B, O.* In the next line R gives *a praecordia fugiens, O ad praecordium, B id praecordia.*

10. 145. *Inhumatum, qui nec inane absenti suppetit tumulus, R; inhumanum, cui nec inane habenti surrexit tumulus, B, O, T.*

10. 150. *Impostor interceptor, R; impostor, occulte se (sed B) inmittens. Interceptor etc., B, O.*

10. 159. *Elius autem latro est inquit latero, R; melius autem latro est quam latero, B, O.* T gives a confusion of the two readings, *melius autem latro est inquit latro.*

10. 160. After the words *quod libet*, R adds *libidinosus a Libero, qui puellarum*. B and O *libidinosus a Libero, qui puellari corpore pingitur*.

10. 188. *Nutritor quasi nutu eruditor*, R, T; *quasi nutri eruditor*, B, O.

Neither Arevalo nor Otto, the two most recent editors of Isidore's *Etymologiae*, seems to have had any clear idea of the distinction between the two classes of MSS. In some instances they seem to be unaware of the existence both of the *lacunae* and of the additional notes which mark the family of B and O, and even where they mention the *lacunae*, or mark them in the text, they do not state explicitly to what extent they have MS. support in doing so. Whatever opinion future editors of Isidore may form as to the respective merits of the two recensions of the *Etymologiae*, it will clearly be their duty to recognise the distinction between them, and to ascertain, if possible, whether the *lacunae* are not filled up in one or other of the older MSS. From Otto's *apparatus criticus* it seems that a few of them at least are filled up in one of the Toledo MSS.

It would be rash to hazard an opinion as to the comparative merits of the readings respectively offered by the two recensions. In one case, however, it will probably be acknowledged that B and O are right as against R; in 10. 188. The reading of R, *nutritor quasi nutu eruditor* (or *eruditior*), which is adopted and defended by Arevalo and Otto, seems clearly inferior to that of B and O, *nutritor quasi nutri, eruditor*, the meaning of which is that *nutritor* may either be a verb, the imperative of a deponent *nutrior*, or a substantive = *eruditor*.

NECTO, NEXUM -I, NEXUS -ŪS.

Necto, which does not appear in Greek, but to which Sanskrit offers a cognate in the base *nah-*, was an old Italian word for 'to bind:'. Festus, p. 165, *nectere ligare significat*; and seems to have been in the old legal phraseology the equivalent of the

later *obligare*: Gloss. Hild. *nectit obligat*¹. Thus a debtor whose person was imprisoned or services exacted on account of his debt was *nexus* or bound: Varro, L. L. 7. 105, *liber qui operas suas in servitute[m] pro pecunia quadam debebat, nexus vocatur*, Cic. Rep. 2, § 59, *nectierque postea desitum*: Livy, 2. 23. 1, *nexos ob aes alienum*: 8. 28. 2, *se nexum alicui dare*: so Val. Max. 6. 1. 9. Justin, 21. 1. 5, (*Dionysius*) *nexorum tria milia carcere dimittit*; 21. 2. 2, *carcerem nexis . . . replet*.

As applied to things, *necto* meant 'to put in pawn': Festus, p. 165, *nexum aes dicebatur pecunia quae per nexum* (from *nexus -ūs*) *obligatur*: Dig. 49. 14. 22. 1, *res nexas pignori*, for which a moment afterwards the expression *res obligatas* occurs.

Nexum, as a substantive, means sometimes the thing pledged, sometimes the process of pledging. In the latter sense it should, in my opinion, be carefully distinguished on the one hand from *nexus -ūs*, which is a general word for any contract or obligation, and on the other hand from *mancipium*. *Mancipium* is a process of sale, *nexum* a process of pledging person or property as security for a debt. The *nexum* and *mancipium* were indeed sometimes confused by the Romans themselves, in consequence of the fact that in certain cases a *nexum* could be contracted *per aes et libram*, which was the regular proceeding in the case of a *mancipium*, and also because a *mancipium* or 'sale' might be accompanied or followed by a *nexum* in case of non-payment of the purchase-money.

The confusion between *nexum* and *mancipium* is as old as the jurist Manilius: Varro, L. L. 7. 105, *nexum Manilius scribit omne quod per aes et libram geritur, in quo sunt mancipia*: *Mucius, quae per aes et libram fiant ut obligentur, praeter quae mancipia dentur. Hoc verius esse ipsum verbum ostendit de quo quaerit: nam idem quod obligatur per libram nec suum fit, inde nexum dictum*. That is, Varro agrees with Mucius Scaevola that the proper meaning of *nexum* is a thing which is (as it were) not its own master (*nec suum*); and that *nexum* (as a process) always

¹ Compare Festus, p. 190, *obnectere, obligare, maxime in nuptiis frequens est*.

implies an *obligatio* : when such *obligatio* takes place *per aes et libram*, then the *aes et libra* are employed to create a *nexum*, but not otherwise.

This view is confirmed by Cicero (de Oratore, 3, § 159), who notes, as an instance of the improper or metaphorical employment of language, the use of *nexum* as = *quodcumque per aes et libram geritur*. The confusion is made by Festus, p. 165, Müller: *nexum est, ut ait Gallus Aelius, quodcumque per aes et libram geritur, idque necti dicitur. Quo in genere sunt haec, testamenti factio, nexi datio, nexi liberatio*. This note is so wanting in precision that it is impossible to suppose that it really represents what Verrius Flaccus wrote. How can it be sense to say *quodcumque per aes et libram geritur, id...necti dicitur*? But the phrases *nexi datio* and *nexi liberatio* involve the important admission that *nexum* meant originally the thing pawned or pledged, not the process of pledging.

Both the *datio nexi* (giving of a thing or person in pledge) and the *liberatio nexi* (freeing of the thing or person) could, as Festus says, be performed *per aes et libram*. The *solutio* or process of freeing the thing or person in pledge is described by Gaius, 3. 173: *est etiam alia species imaginariae solutionis, per aes et libram, quod et ipsum genus certis in causis receptum est, veluti si quid eo nomine debeatur quod per aes et libram gestum sit, sive quid ex iudicati causa debeatur. Adhibentur autem non minus quam quinque testes et libripens; deinde is qui liberatur ita oportet loquatur, 'Quod ego tibi tot milibus eo nomine [velut secundum] man[ci]pium sum damn[as], solvo liberoque hoc aere aheneaue libra hanc tibi libram primam postremamque secundum legem publicam.' Deinde asse percutit libram eumque dat ei a quo liberatur, velut solvendi causa.*

I suppose then the stages in the history of the meaning of *nexum* to have been as follows: It meant first a thing bound: then a thing put into another person's power, or pledged; then (of money) a sum owed to another for a sum lent, and therefore (as it were) bound, but released when paid: then the process of pledging or mortgaging.

In Cicero, de Oratore, 1, § 173, *nexorum, mancipiorum iura*: Caec. § 102, *horum nexa atque hereditates, nexa* may mean the property pledged or mortgaged: in Har. Resp. § 14, *iure privato, iure hereditario, iure auctoritatis, iure nexi*: Rep. 2. § 59, *omnia nexa civium liberata, nechtierque postea desitum*, it means pledge or mortgage as a transaction. Comp. Livy, 2. 23, 8. 28.

In Cicero, de Rep. 1. 27, *omnia non Quiritium sed sapientium iure pro suis vindicare, nec civili nexo* (MS. *sexo*), *sed lege naturae, nexum* is used in quite a general sense.

Nexus -ūs is a general term for 'bond,' 'contract,' 'obligation,' and may thus (if so be) include *mancipium* and *nexum*. Gloss. Amplon. p. 218, *nexus obligatio, obligatura*. XII Tabb. 6. 1 (Bruns), *cum nexum faciet mancipiumque, uti lingua nuncupavit, ita ius esto* (i.e. when he has made a contract and a sale, though *nexum* here has been taken as the neuter).

Cic. Paradoxa, 5, § 35, *non enim ita dicunt eos esse servos ut mancipia, quae sunt dominorum facta nexu aut aliquo iure civili*: Top. § 28, *traditio alteri nexu*: Fam. 7. 30. 2, *cuius quoniam proprium te esse sentis mancipio et nexu, meum autem usu et fructu*: Mur. § 3, *in eis rebus repetendis quae mancipi sunt, is periculum iudicii praestare debet qui se nexu obligavit*: Livy, 7. 19. 5, *sorte ipsa obruebantur nexumque inibant* (entered into a contract or bond for the transference of their persons): Dig. 10. 2. 33, *partem nexu pignoris liberam*: 12. 6. 26. 7, *ut venditorum nexu venditi liberaret* (the contract of sale): 46. 4. 1, *acceptilatio et liberatio per mutuam interrogationem, qua utriusque contingit ab eodem nexu absolutio*: Festus, p. 165, *pecunia quae per nexum obligatur*: Ti. Donatus, on Aen. 8. 74, *solent quippe liberari nexu qui semel promittunt et semel vota persolvunt*: Isidore, 5. 7. 1, *nexus foederis faciendi*.

The sum of the above argument is that *nexum -i*, when it refers to a transaction or process, is, properly speaking, applied only to cases of pledge or mortgage: and that *nexus -ūs*, which in the accusative is liable to be confounded with *nexum*, is applicable to any bond or contract whatever.

SECO = NARRO.

The evidence for the existence of a verb *seco* or *sequo* = *narro* is contained in a note of Paulus, p. 111, *inseque apud Ennium dic, insexit dixerit*; in Gellius, 18. 9. 2 foll., where it is argued that *insece*, *insecenda* are the right forms, not *inseque*, *insequenda*: and in Placidus, p. 59. 16, *insequis, narras, refers, sed interdum pergis*. A comparison of the last two notes makes it very probable that they, like that of Paulus, were derived from Verrius Flaccus. A gloss quoted by Loewe (Prodromus, p. 420), *sequius sermo* (of which more anon), may be explained by the notes above cited; and perhaps the manuscripts of Plautus, Mil. Glor. 1220 (Ritschl), are right as against modern editions in giving *sum secuta* (I have spoken), not *sum locuta*.

Before considering the question whether *sec-* = *narrare* is identical (as the ancient Roman scholars seem to have supposed) with *sec-* = *sequi*, I wish to call attention to a passage in the above-quoted chapter of Gellius, which I cannot but think has been misunderstood. To make the matter perfectly clear I will transcribe the whole (18. 9. 2 foll.). Part of it is unfortunately mutilated:

'Insecenda' quid esset, quaeri coeptum. Tum ex his qui aderant, alter litterator fuit, alter litteras sciens: id est alter docens, doctus alter. Hi duo inter se dissentiebant. Et grammaticus quidem contendebat... 'insequenda,' enim scribi inquit, debet, non 'insecenda,' quoniam 'insequens' significat... traditumque esse 'inseque,' quasi 'perge dicere,' et 'insequere'; itaque ab Ennio scriptum in his versibus 'Inseque, Musa, manu Romanorum induperator Quod quisque in bello gessit cum rege Philippo.' Alter autem ille eruditior, nihil mendum, sed recte atque integre scriptum esse perseverabat, et Velio Longo, non homini indocto, fidem esse habendam, qui in commentario quod fecisset de usu antiquae lectionis scripserit non 'inseque' apud Ennium legendum, sed 'insece;,' ideoque a veteribus, quas 'narrationes' dicimus, 'inseciones' esse appellatas; Varroem quoque versum hunc Plauti de Menaechmis, 'nihilo minus esse videntur sectius quam somnia,' sic enarrasse; 'nihilo magis

narranda esse quam si ea essent somnia. Haec illi inter se certabant.

Ego arbitror et a M. Catone 'insecunda' et a Q. Ennio 'insece' scriptum sine 'u' littera. Offendi enim in bibliotheca Patrensi librum verae vetustatis Livii Andronici, qui inscriptus est Ὀδύσσεια, in quo erat versus primus, cum hoc verbo, sine 'u' littera, 'Virum mihi, Camena, insece versutum,' factus ex illo Homeri versu Ἄνδρα μοι ἔννεπε Μοῦσα πολύτροπον. Illi igitur aetatis et fidei magnae libro. credo. Nam quod in versu Plautino est 'sectius quam somnia' nihil in alteras partes argumenti habet. Etiam si veteres autem non 'inseque,' sed 'insece' dixerunt, credo quia erat lenius leviusque, tamen eiusdem sententiae verbum videtur. Nam et 'sequo' (seco ?) et 'sequor' et item 'secta' et 'sectio' consuetudine loquendi differunt: sed qui penitus inspexerit, origo et ratio utriusque una est.

Doctores quoque et interpretes vocum Graecarum ἄνδρα μοι ἔννεπε Μοῦσα, et ἔσπετε νῦν μοι, Μοῦσαι, dictum putant quod Latine 'inseque' dicitur; namque in altero ν geminum, in altero σ esse tralatum dicunt. Sed etiam ipsum illud ἔπη quod significat verba aut versus, non aliunde esse dictum tradunt, quam ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔπεσθαι καὶ τοῦ εἰπεῖν. Eadem ergo ratione antiqui nostri narrationes sermonesque 'insectiones' appellaverunt.

I wish to call especial attention to the line from the Menaechmi (1047), which is thus given from the manuscripts by Ritschl: *Haec nihilo esse mihi videntur sectius quam somnia.* This line is usually quoted as giving an example of an adverb *sectius* = *setius*, and translated 'these things seem to me nothing else than dreams.' It strikes one as odd that the singular *sectius* can thus be used for *sectiora*. But passing over this, there seems to be no evidence anywhere for the form *sectius* but this line: old inscriptions and good manuscripts agree in giving *sētius* (not to be confounded with *secus* or *sequius*). The consideration, however, which to my mind throws most suspicion on the form *sectius* is this: that Varro explained the line in question to mean *haec nihilo magis narranda esse quam somnia*. The word *narranda* can refer to no word in the line except the supposed

sectius : for just below Gellius, in discussing the respective claims of *insece* and *inseque*, says : *quod in versu Plautino est, 'sectius quam somnia,' nihil in alteras partes argumenti habet.* What point can there be in this remark if *sectius* = *setius* ? The whole gist of the discussion is that *insequo* or *inseco* means *narro*, and *insectio* = *narratio*.

I think it therefore almost certain that instead of *sectius* we should read *sectio* or *sectio est*. The line, according to Varro, should yield the sense *nihilo magis narranda esse quam si ea essent somnia*. The manuscripts of Plautus give *haec nihilo esse mihi videntur sectius quam somnia*. May the line have run thus : *haec nihilo est mage, ut videtur, sectio quam somnia?* or *haec nihilo mage, ut videtur, sectios quam somnia?* The construction *nihilo mage sectio est haec quam somnia* for *haec nihilo magis secenda sunt quam somnia* might be easily paralleled from Plautus, who uses verbals in *-tio* with a following accusative, as *quae tibi hunc virum tactios* for *cur hunc virum tangis?*

The gloss *sequius sermo* may also easily, and without any violence to the *ductus litterarum*, be corrected thus : *sectio est sermo*.

Seco 'to say' ought however, to all appearance, to be distinguished from

SECO=SEQUOR.

Nonius, p. 404, says *secare sequi, unde et sectatores bonorum sectores dicti sunt*. Vergilius lib. 10 (107) '*quam quisque secat spem.*' Servius on the passage in question repeats this explanation, *secat, sequitur, tenet, habet, ut* (6. 900) '*Ille viam secat ad naves;*' *unde et sectas dicimus habitus animorum et instituta philosophiae circa disciplinam*. Comp. Isid. 19. 19. 8, *sectio dicta a sequendo ea quae ceperit (cupiat?) nam secare sectari et sequi est*. The glosses edited by Hildebrand give (p. 269) *secat, meat, praecidit*; and conversely (p. 206) *meat, secat*.

The notes in Nonius and Servius, as is so often the case, have all the appearance of having been derived from a common source; and if I am right in my reasoning in the essays introductory to the fourth edition of Conington's Virgil (vol. 1) this common authority is probably at least as old as the age of

Trajan. Gellius, in the passage which we have been discussing, seems to imply that he knew, or thought he knew, of a word *seco*=*sequor*: but it is difficult to say whether he would have identified this with, or classed it as akin to, the *secare* = *sequi* of Nonius and Servius. However this may be, Verrius Flaccus undoubtedly connected *sectio* and *sectores* with *sequor*, for Paulus, p. 337, says *sectio persecutio iuris; sectores et qui secant dicuntur et qui empta sua persequuntur*. Comp. Pseudo-Ascon. Verr. I, § 61, *sectores autem dicti qui spem lucri sui secuti bona condemnatorum semel auctionabantur, proque his pecuniam pensitabant singulis*. We may fairly assume, I think, that no Roman scholar would have supposed that *sector* and *sectio* were formally identical with *secutor* and *secutio*, and we might therefore, even had there been no such notes in Nonius and Servius as we have quoted, have assumed that in their opinion these words come from a lost word *seco*=*sequor*. As it is, we have the testimony of Nonius and Servius to the actual existence of such a word, and the fact (which should not be lost sight of) that *inseco* or *insequo* was by some explained as=*pergo*.

The existence of *seco* = *sequor* might also have been inferred from the word *secta*, even had Servius, or his authority, not connected the verb with the substantive. *Secta* means 'a way.' From the time of Naevius downwards *sectam sequi*, 'to follow a path or a track,' is common in Latin. The line of Naevius himself, *eorum sectam secuntur multi mortales*, 'many people follow the way they are going,' is as good an instance as any. And that *secta* was felt to be equivalent to *via* by classical writers may be inferred from Cicero, N. D. 2, § 57, *habet (natura omnis) quasi viam quandam atque sectam quam sequatur*: Juvenal, 14. 122, *unam Ire viam pergant et eidem incumbere sectae*.

There seems then to be a fair amount of evidence that there was in Latin a word *seco*, which meant originally 'to go,' 'to go after,' or 'to follow;' just as *peto*, which originally meant 'to go or move,' came afterwards to be used in the sense of 'to make for,' or 'to claim.' I incline to think that traces of this word may be found in several phrases familiar in Roman law.

The words *sectio* and *sector* were, as we have seen, taken by Verrius Flaccus as derived not from *seco* 'to cut,' but from *seco* 'to follow.' Does this etymology accord with their usage?

Most modern authorities, I am aware, prefer to take *sectio* and *sector* as derived from *seco* in the sense of 'to divide;' some supposing the words to have come down from a time when the booty was literally divided, others referring the words to a supposed percentage of profit made by the *sector*.

A great difficulty in the way of this explanation is the fact that *seco* never means to divide unless when followed by an explanatory clause such as *in partes*. Nor do I think that the usages of the word in question, when fairly examined, will be found to require the notion of cutting or division at all.

Sector meant a purchaser of property sold by the *populus*: in practice this meant a man who bought spoil taken from an enemy, or the property of a proscribed citizen. Gaius, 4. 146, *item ei qui publice bona emerit, eiusdem condicionis interdictum proponitur quod appellatur sectorium, quod sectores vocantur qui publice bona mercantur*: Cicero, Rosc. Am. § 103, *sector . . . hoc est emptor atque possessor*: Florus, 2. 48, *hastae subiecit tabernas, nec sector inventus est*; and other passages of the like import are quoted in the lexicons.

But as the *sector* does not necessarily buy with the notion of keeping what he has bought, but often intends to sell it again, he may appear in the light of an agent or dealer in confiscated property, and even in that of an auctioneer; Tacitus, Hist. 1. 20, *ubique hasta et sector, et inquieta urbs auctionibus*. Lucan, 1. 178, *sectorque favoris Ipse sui populus*, 'trafficking in its own favour.' Thus *sectores* are often spoken of with disparagement; *cum sector sis isto loco natus*, says Cicero to Antonius (Phil. 2, § 65).

I would urge that the ancient scholars were right in deriving *sector* (in this sense) from *seco* = *sequor*, and that the word meant originally a petitioner; one who asked for, put in a claim for, the property, and so its purchaser. And according to this view *sectio* should originally mean the act of asking for, or proposing to buy, and then the right to buy or become the owner, as

petitio sometimes means the right of petition. Thus we can easily explain the phrase *sectionem vendere*¹, to sell the traffic or right of trafficking in the booty; for as *sector*, from meaning the purchaser, comes to mean the agent, so *sectio*, from meaning the purchase, comes to mean the traffic that follows on the purchase. In Cic. Phil. 2, §§ 64, 71, *illud scelus sectionis, pecunia quam pro sectione debebas, sectio* apparently means simply the purchase; in Justin (or rather Trogus), 38. 7. 8, *rapacitas proconsulum, sectio publicanorum*, it means 'traffic:' and so Tac. Hist. 1. 90, Ann. 13. 23, Sueton. Vitellius, 2, *reliquias Neronianarum sectionum, exercendis apud aerarium sectionibus, sectionibus et cognituris uberius compendium nactus*.

I now come to a passage in the Twelve Tables about which, in spite of the *consensus* of the best modern authorities, I cannot but think there are great difficulties: *tertiis nundinis partes secanto; si plus minusve secuerunt, se fraude esto*. This clause is generally taken to mean 'let them cut his body to pieces; if they have cut too much or too little, let this be no harm to them.' Those who adopt this interpretation have, it appears to me, to answer the following questions.

First, as to the language—Can it be shown that *partes secare* could, in any Latin whatever, mean to divide into parts? Tertullian (Apol. 4) says, in mentioning the law, *iudicatos in partes secari a creditoribus leges erant*, and this, no doubt, would be the usual Latin for to cut into parts. But unfortunately it was not the expression in the Twelve Tables, if we may trust Gellius, 20. 1. 49, nor has any scholar asserted that it was. *Secare* means not 'to divide,' but 'to cut:' either to make an incision, or to cut a thing out.

But it may be argued that *secare partes* could mean to cut off the limbs. Those who defend this explanation have to show that *partes*, standing by itself, could mean parts of the body. Now, in its oldest and proper sense, *pars* means a share or

¹ Cic. Inv. 1. 85, Caes. B. G. 2. 23; Cic. Leg. Agr. fragm. ap. Gell. 13. 25. 6, *praedam, manubias, sectionem, castra denique Cn. Pompei sedente imperatore decemviri vendent*.

division; and although *partes corporis*, or *pars corporis* might stand metaphorically for a limb, the burden of proof lies with those who assert that *pars* standing by itself can mean anything of the kind.

Again, what is the meaning of *si plus minusve secuerunt, se fraude esto?* 'If they have cut more or less, let it be no harm to them.' Is it contended that the legislators who drew up the laws of the Twelve Tables would go out of their way to insert so childish a provision? To explain the fact we should have to assume that before their time there was a law or custom forbidding the partition of the debtor's body unless it were divided in precisely equal or proportionate parts, and that the decemvirs, in their tenderness for the interest of the creditors, inserted a provision that such mathematical nicety was no longer to be required of them. Will it be asserted that such a state of feeling is conceivable at the period of the Twelve Tables, or is to be reconciled with the statesmanlike and reasonable spirit which pervades them?

Another very serious difficulty, as several scholars have perceived, arises with regard to the matter of the clause. If such a provision ever existed in the Twelve Tables, how is it that there is no mention of it in any of the historians? Livy, in his earlier books, is fond of painting out the miseries of the oppressed debtors with all the power of his eloquence, but he never uses this point to enforce the rhetoric of his appeals. We read a great deal of imprisonment in private houses, of chains and loss of liberty, but of the dissection of the body not a word. Yet what would have been better fitted to point a climax of indignation than the existence of a grossly inhuman clause such as this is supposed to be? Its mere existence in the statute-book would have been enough; there would have been no need to see it carried into practice.

Gellius, who in the first chapter of his twentieth book discusses the matter and assumes throughout that *secare* means 'to cut up,' admits that he never heard of the law being carried out; *dissectum esse antiquitus neminem equidem legi neque audivi*. He

says that the clause was intended as a bugbear, and compares that which enacted that a false witness was to be thrown from the Tarpeian rock. But then he admits that this sentence was actually carried out in old days.

It must be admitted at the same time that Quintilian (3. 6. 84) undoubtedly understood the passage in question as referring to the cutting up the debtor's body, and also that there is no trace of the ancients themselves having taken the words in any other way. In answer to this argument the only point which can be urged is that the Twelve Tables were sometimes misunderstood even in the days of Cicero. There is, for instance, a section (Tab. 8, Bruns) directed against the use of charms (*malum carmen*) which was indeed rightly understood by Pliny, but which Cicero and others (e. g. Horace) seem to have interpreted of scurrilous writing (*carmen famosum*). At least this is the opinion of Bruns as expressed in his note on the passage. There are other instances of the language of the Twelve Tables being either variously interpreted, or not being understood at all, in the Ciceronian and Augustan age, or even earlier. Festus, p. 313, says that scholars were not agreed upon the meaning of *pedem struere*: on p. 321 he says that not even Messala could explain *sanates*; and Cicero (Leg. 2, § 59) speaking of the passage *mulieres genas ne radunto, neve lessum funeris ergo habento*, adds *hoc veteres interpretes Sextius Aelius L. Acilius non satis se intellegere dixerunt*. Aelius Paetus was consul 198 B.C., and Acilius was a contemporary of the elder Cato. It is therefore not impossible that Quintilian, and even earlier writers, may have completely misunderstood *secare partes*.

I contend that *secare partes* cannot mean either to divide the body, or to divide the property, into parts. But if *seco* here = *sequi*, may not *partes secanto* mean 'let them claim their shares in the debtor's property?' *Si plus minusve secuierunt*—'if (through inadvertence or any other cause) they have claimed too much or too little, let it not be prejudicial to the claim being considered.' Thus *partes secare* would be equivalent to

what in late Latin would be expressed by *partes petere*, and *plus minusve secare* to *plus minusve petere*.

This interpretation would, it seems to me, suit the requirements of the case. The debtor has been adjudged a debtor; if he does not conform to the sentence of the court, his creditor may take him home and keep him in chains for sixty days, if he does not come to a settlement; at the end of that time he may either sell him as a slave across the Tiber (if, that is, he has nothing to pay), or (if he has wherewith to pay) he may with the other creditors claim his share in the property. It would probably require the sentence of a *iudex* or an *arbiter* to settle the proportions of the division.

Perhaps traces of the word *seco = sequor* may be found in Horace as well as in Vergil. Sat. 1. 2. 14, *quinas hic capiti mercedes exsecat, atque Quanto perditior quisque est, tanto acrius urget*. *Exsecat* here has given a great deal of difficulty, but need give none if it be taken as = *exsequitur*: comp. Sat. 1. 6. 86, *si praeco parvas, aut quod fuit ipse, coactor Mercedes sequerer*. So possibly in Sat. 1. 10. 15, *ridiculum acri Fortius ac melius magnas plerumque secat res*, *secat* may mean attacks, hits, or aims at. And in Epist. 1. 16. 43, *quo multae magnaecque secantur iudice lites*, *secantur lites* may perhaps be a relic of an old phrase *secare litem*, to claim the thing in dispute, for which Terence (And. 811, Ad. 248, Phorm. 407) says *sequi* or *sectari lites*. Thus the meaning of the passage in Horace may possibly be 'in whose court many important cases are brought on for trial.'

THE BUCOLIC CAESURA.

In the *Hermathena*, No. 8, Mr. Tyrrell follows Dr. Maguire in throwing doubt upon the commonly accepted theory of the *bucolic caesura*, summing up his conclusion as follows: 'The only expression of the rule, as far as I know, which really colligates the phenomena is that of Dr. Maguire, Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, and it runs thus: "When the fourth

foot ends with a word, the fourth foot must be a dactyl, *if there is a stop after the fourth foot.*”

Mr. Tyrrell mentions Marius Victorinus and Terentianus Maurus as the authorities for the existing rule, but he does not quote them, nor does he allude to a passage in Servius; which to my mind is very important as setting the matter in its true light. Before considering what is the real import of the ancient grammarians' testimony, it will be convenient to quote them in full.

Servius on Eclogue 1 init., *Carmen bucolicum, quod debet quarto pede terminare partem orationis. Qui pes si sit dactylus, meliorem efficit versum; ut 'nos patriae fines et dulcia.' Primus etiam pes secundum Donatum dactylus esse debet, et terminare partem orationis; ut 'Tityre.' Quam legem Theocritus vehementer observat, Vergilius non adeo.* The Pseudo-Probos gives the rule in a much shorter form.

Terentianus Maurus, p. 389 (Keil):

*Pastorale volet cum quis componere carmen,
Tetrametrum absolvat, cui portio demitur ima,
Quae solido a verbo poterit conectere versum.
Bucolicon siquidem talem voluere vocari.
Plurimus hoc pollet Siculae telluris alumnus.
'Dulce tibi pinus summurmurat, en tibi, pastor,
Proxima fonticulis, et tu quoque dulcia pangis.'
Iugiter hanc legem toto prope carmine servat.
Noster eo rarus pastor Maro, sed tamen inquit
'Dic mihi, Damoeta, cuium pecus, an Meliboei?
Non, verum Aegonis: nuper mihi tradidit Aegon.'*

Marius Victorinus, p. 65 (Keil): *Eam (caesuram) quae quarto pede partem orationis terminat, quam bucolicen Graeci dicunt.*

It is to be observed that Terentianus Maurus gives the facts quite correctly. He says of the first idyll of Theocritus, the first two lines of which he has translated, *iugiter hanc legem toto prope carmine servat*, 'almost throughout the poem.' Now this is neither more nor less than the truth; according to Mr. Tyrrell's own statement, Theocritus violates the rule in only

twenty-seven verses out of one hundred and fifty-two. Nor again does Servius imply that Theocritus in his bucolic idylls never violates it. The fact is that Theocritus gives the impression of employing it oftener than he really does, by using it in a great number of verses *continuously*.

There seems no reason then to doubt that the title of *bucolic caesura* was rightly given, by an *oxymoron*, to the cadence of which Lucretius and Catullus are so fond, *tibi rident aequora ponti*. Theocritus is undoubtedly partial to it, much more partial than Homer. But I suspect the reason why the term *bucolic caesura* came thus to be applied was this: that the Greek grammarians had begun by characterizing a particular kind of *hexameter* as bucolic. And the particular kind of hexameter I suppose to have been such a one as ἄρχετε βωκο-λικᾶς, Μοῖσαι φίλοι, ἄρχετ' αἰδῆς, or *Ducite ab urbe domum, mea carmina, ducite Daphnin*. This, I think, may be inferred from the expression *carmen bucolicum* in the note of Servius, and the theory which he quotes from Donatus, that the first foot ought also to be a dactyl and end a word. When the name *bucolic* had been attached to a hexameter of which the first word formed a dactyl and in which the fourth foot also ended a word, the phrase *bucolic caesura* may easily have been attached to the particular cadence in the fourth foot.

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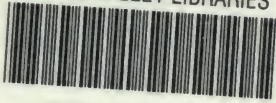
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